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INDICES OF EMPLOYER PREJUDICE:
AN ANALYSIS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL
ASPECTS OF PREJUDICE TOWARD
THE DISABLED WORKER

Thomas Edwin Rickard, 1962

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1962

INDICES OF EMPLOYER PREJUDICE

AN ANALYSIS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF PREJUDICE
TOWARD THE DISABLED WORKER

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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IN THE GRADUATE COLLEGE OF THE
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THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

January, 1962

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY

SUPERVISION BY THOMAS EDWIN RICKARD

INDICES OF EMPLOYER PREJUDICE:

ENTITLED An Analysis of Psychological Aspects of Prejudice toward
the Disabled Worker

BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The studies described in these pages make inquiry into several aspects of negative attitudes toward the handicapped. The personality structure and dynamics of persons who hold negative attitudes will be discussed.

For essentially all persons in our society, remunerative work provides a means for the attainment of dignity, respect, and those things important and necessary for a "good life". On the other hand, unemployment must necessitate reliance on public and private programs for the indigent and unemployed. These consequences may be accentuated for the disabled because of their restricted flexibility in work. We have chosen this area of employment for the study of prejudice toward the handicapped.

Do socially unwarranted discriminations exist in our society which exclude our disabled workers from employment? The primary thesis of this study is that they do exist, and that they can be measured. A method of isolating and quantifying these prejudicial attitudes will be proposed. Once we have quantified employment prejudice, we can investigate the manner in which the prejudice is related to certain personality characteristics of employers.

Prejudice and the Total Hiring Decision

The study began with the assumption that there is a prejudice toward hiring the disabled. Such a view accepts the underlying assumption that where two persons apply for a job, and all their characteristics are

equal except for the presence of a disability, the nondisabled person will be hired in preference to the disabled.

In actual practice, decisions about employing workers are not made in terms of equalities. It is rare that we have identical twins, one of whom is disabled, with equal experience and training, applying for jobs. However, in designing our research instrument, it is possible to hold such variables constant or to control their concurrent interaction.

Disabilities may interfere with the performance of some jobs where the quality and quantity of production is hampered by the presence of disability. Other jobs can be performed equally well by the disabled and nondisabled. In order to facilitate our research, it is necessary to define certain terms that will be used in the theoretical discussion and the reporting of results.

Relevance of Disability to Performance of Job

A physical or mental disability may be relevant or irrelevant to the performance of a job. For purposes of terminology we will consider the disability relevant when it interferes with the quality or quantity of performance in the job held. It is irrelevant when the disability does not substantially interfere with job performance.

Often a disability has a prima facie appearance of being relevant to job performance, but, with a small adjustment in method or equipment, the disability can be made irrelevant to performance.

The Index of Individual Employer Rejection

The Index of Individual Employer Rejection or I.I.E.R. will be used to indicate a single employer's degree of rejection of a disabled person for employment as compared to the nondisabled. For any given employer, the I.I.E.R. may be a minus or a plus figure. The plus figure

indicates a tendency of the employer to reject the disabled person more than the nondisabled, and a minus figure indicates a greater acceptance of the disabled than a nondisabled applicant. The I.I.E.R. will be used to describe the rejection without regard to the presence or absence of other irrelevant and relevant factors. It is an index of rejection of a single employer toward a specified disability group.

The Index of Group Employer Rejection

By taking the means of the Indices of Individual Employer Rejection for a sample of employers, we may obtain an Index of Group Employer Rejection (I.G.E.R.). By the use of this index, we can represent the total degree of acceptance or rejection of a disability group by any sample of employers. We may compute the means of the I.I.E.R.'s of a group of personnel directors, a group of school administrators, a group of farmers, or any other sample which we wish to investigate. Like the I.I.E.R., the I.G.E.R. contains both relevant and irrelevant elements. The I.G.E.R. is a gross measure of total rejection, and it does not distinguish whether the rejection is made on the basis of the disabled person's actual capacity to do the job or on the basis of a prejudice toward him.

The Index of Individual Employer Prejudice

The Index of Individual Employer Prejudice or I.I.E.P. is that element of the I.I.E.R. due to the factors of an employer's decision which are irrelevant to an adequate performance by the disabled person.

The Index of Group Employer Prejudice

The Index of Group Employer Prejudice or I.G.E.P. is the mean of the Indices of Individual Employer Prejudice (I.I.E.P.'s) for a group of hiring officers. It is a measure of the prejudice against hiring the

disabled group under consideration. It is composed of only those elements of the employer's decisions which are irrelevant to an adequate performance on the part of the disabled. As such, it is the prejudice which the disabled person must overcome in seeking a job which he would not have to contend with if he had no disability. The disabled person is confronted with groups of stereotypes and attitudes when he seeks employment. They are not based upon the true ability of the disabled person to perform in his chosen work, but have constituted an obstacle to his acceptance as a worker. In the present dissertation, a method for the quantification of the I.G.E.R. and I.G.E.P. is described.

Variability of Prejudice and Disability Type

To what extent do employers distinguish between disabilities in prejudiced attitudes? The I.G.E.P. provides a means for determining the prevailing degrees of prejudice toward each disability, and offers a method of ordering disabilities according to the severity of employment prejudice.

The significance of differences between various employment prejudice scores may be investigated by the use of the t test.

Dominance of Employer Prejudice in Worker Selection

Relevant factors are characteristics of the applicant which affect the quality and quantity of his performance. If the disabled person can perform a job as well as a nondisabled person, it means that he has all the relevant characteristics used in the proper execution of the functions of the job.

In order to obtain a true measure of employer prejudice it is necessary to match a given disability with a given job. The disability should not have any relevant relationship to the adequate performance of

the job. Only irrelevant factors can be present. These irrelevant factors originate in the attitudinal structure of the hiring officer, rather than in the physical or mental make-up of the applicant. If a nondisabled person is preferred to him as a worker, it means that the employer is influenced by his own irrelevant attitudes in making the worker selection. If these irrelevant considerations of the employer are so pervasive that they overcome reason, we may expect the disabled person to be rejected equally in all jobs without reference to the relevant factors. On the other hand, if the prejudice is additive in nature rather than all-inclusive, we may expect the employer rejection to be higher in jobs where the disability is relevant to adequate performance.

This study will measure the degree of rejection of a given type of disabled applicant in regard to more than one job. One job will be chosen wherein the factors necessary for an adequate performance will be assumed to be possessed by applicants with all the disabilities named. The analysis will then be repeated for another job, with the expectation that some of the disability groups will experience a greater rejection because of worker requirements not possessed by all our disability groups. If the employers are considering the lack of relevant factors, the I.G.E.R. should be higher than the I.G.E.P. for the second position named. If the indices are the same for each job, we have evidence that employer prejudice is the controlling factor and blocks the personnel director's consideration of factors in the disability which in truth relate to the performance of the job. His prejudicial attitudes will have clouded his logical judgment.

Personality Structure and the I.I.E.P.

It has been demonstrated that those who score high on the Fascist or authoritarian personality scale are more ethnocentric and prejudiced

toward other races and creeds than those who score low on the scale (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, and Sanford, 1950). These tendencies on the part of persons with an authoritarian personality have been attributed to their psychological structure. Such persons are characterized by a number of distinguishing behaviors including an inability to tolerate ambiguity, and a tendency to premature closure in their judgments.

Shils (1954, p. 38) has objected to the Fascist scale on the ground that it purports to measure only right authoritarianism. Shils feels that because of the rise of communism, a scale should measure left authoritarianism as well.

Rokeach (1960, pp. 132-133) has challenged the restriction of scales to political authoritarianism characterized by fascism and communism. He introduces the idea of the open and closed mind. The closed mind is dogmatic and not open to new ideas or changes; the open mind is at the other end of the continuum. The structure does not pertain only to the authoritarian in political affairs; it applies to persons dogmatic in religious questions, to those with a closed mind in science, and to all other persons not open to new ideas. They cannot tolerate change and are intolerant of ambiguity in any form.

Disability may constitute a kind of ambiguity for the hiring officer. In order to resolve the frustrations incident to an ambiguous situation, the dogmatic hiring officer presumably will rely on irrelevant and stereotyped attitudes in order to attain closure and avoid the frustration resulting from the ambiguity. The dogmatic employer does not know what to expect from a disabled person in his work performance or in his relationships with other workers. A dogmatic person resolves this ambiguity most easily by rejecting the person as an employee. A positive correlation

between the I.I.E.P. distribution of a group of employers and their F scale and dogmatism scores should be observed.

Irrelevant Factors and Economic Loss

Triandis (1961) has demonstrated how the consideration of irrelevant factors in employment results in serious economic loss to society. His analysis was based on the assumption that such things as race, sex, and religion were irrelevant to job performance. He found evidence which led him to contend that there is a substantial economic loss to our society resulting from rejection by employers on the basis of these irrelevant factors.

In like fashion, if a disability is irrelevant to the performance of a job, but persons are rejected because of the disability, there is a loss of productive talent and national income. In some respects, the rejection may be more serious in the case of the disabled than for races or religions. The worker rejected because of race, sex, or religion may be forced to take a lower level job. When the disabled person is rejected, he may not be able to obtain a lower level position, for in the case of the disabled, higher positions are often more easily performed than lower level jobs. Lower level jobs often require a degree of physical exertion which the disabled person cannot endure. Rejection for the disabled often means that he is a consumer of the national product without adding to the national income.

The I.G.E.P. and Employer Faith in a "Cure"

Of the six disabilities considered in this study, three disabilities are such that the persons suffering from them have been confined to institutions because their illness or conduct was considered dangerous to themselves or to others. They are prison parolees, ex-mental patients, and

former tubercular patients. When each of these persons is discharged, he has been adjudged by experts to be no longer a danger to himself or to the community. One issue for investigation is whether society considers him "cured" for purposes of employment. Rejection from employment and consequent economic and social deprivation are major causes of recidivism for each of these disabilities.

To what extent does the employer, a key figure in rehabilitation, believe that these persons are "cured" of the maladies for which they were institutionalized? We will attempt to answer this question in our study.

Disclosure of Disability

When a disabled worker applies for a job, he is often confronted with the question of disability disclosure. Some disabilities such as tuberculosis and epilepsy are not visible to the employer. Even when the disability is apparent, the issue is raised when the applicant corresponds with employers preliminary to a personal interview.

Those persons who advocate disclosure argue that an applicant misrepresents himself by nondisclosure. The opposing view is that such matters should be discussed in a personal interview where the ramifications of the problem may be explained to the employer. According to this view, a written disclosure will arouse traditional stereotypes toward the disability group which are untrue and a personal interview may be refused.

The questionnaire method used in these studies most nearly simulates the written application. As such, the results will be relevant to the question of disclosure prior to a personal interview.

Summary

This study investigates prejudicial attitudes of employers toward the disabled worker. Prejudice toward the disabled worker is defined as that

element of employer rejection due to the disability rather than actual job performance. If prejudice does exist toward disabled workers, it is believed that the hiring process may be terminated prior to personal interviews or tests of job performance. A method of measuring this prejudice is proposed and used.

CHAPTER II

PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY

This chapter discusses psychological theories in terms of their application to attitudes toward the disabled worker. The uncertainties surrounding the employment of the disabled are thought to be a source of "prejudicial attitudes" for a large number of employers. Ambiguity is believed to be an additional source of prejudice for those who have authoritarian or closed minds as described by Adorno et al. and Rokeach.

The principal hypothesis of this study is that the uncertainties and ambiguities presented by the disabled applicant, even though he is equally competent to the non-disabled, cause the employer to reject the worker prior to a personal interview or to a test of work performance. At the stage of the hiring process when only applications and credentials are available to the employer, his stereotyped attitudes toward the disability play a dominant role in his decision. In effect, this study does not make any implications in regard to personal interviews or tests of actual job performance.

F Scale

During the time of the rise of Hitler, Fromm wrote his book Escape from Freedom in which he described the structure of the authoritarian personality (Fromm, 1941, pp. 164-172). Two years later, Maslow's article, "The Authoritarian Character Structure" (Maslow, 1943) appeared in the Journal of Social Psychology.

These theoretical approaches stimulated further thought at the University of California at Berkeley where the Anti-Semitism and Fascist scales were conceived and developed (Adorno et al., 1950). Frenkel-Brunswick

joined the staff in order to make clinical studies of subjects scoring at the extremes on the Anti-Semitism scale. Her background in psychoanalysis enriched the developmental aspects of the theoretical structure. Her study of prejudice in children as young as ten and its relationship to family background and parental discipline lend credence to her psychoanalytic approach.

A preliminary inspection of the data supports the assumption made in The Authoritarian Personality that warmer, closer and more affectionate interpersonal relationships prevail in the homes of the unprejudiced children; the conclusions concerning the importance of strictness, rigidity, punitiveness, rejection vs. acceptance of the child seem to be borne out by data from the children themselves....In the home with the orientation toward rigid conformity, on the other hand, actual maintenance of discipline is often based upon the expectation of a quick learning of external, rigid and superficial rules which are bound to be beyond the comprehension of the child. Family relationships are characterized by fearful subservience to the demands of the parents and early suppression of impulses not acceptable to the adults (Frenkel-Brunswick, 1954, pp. 236-237).

Frenkel-Brunswick employs the psychoanalytic concept of ambivalence to explain the development of the authoritarian personality. The prevention of expression of ambivalent feelings in children by the punitiveness of parents, leads to a general intolerance of ambiguity. As a child grows older, the intolerance of ambivalence in parent-child relationships generalizes into social attitude formation. The solution of frustrating ambiguities through rigid structuring by means of premature closure and stereotypy becomes well established in adult years (Rokeach, 1960, pp. 16-17).

According to Rokeach, the F scale was created for two purposes: to measure prejudice without reference to any minority group, and to measure fascistic personality tendencies. Those who have high F scores also tend to have leanings toward political conservatism, ethnocentrism,

anti-Semitism, and prejudicial attitudes toward the Negro. Some of the personality characteristics which differentiate those who score high on the F scale include rigidity in problem solving behavior, concreteness in thinking, premature closure in perceptual processes, distortions in memory, and a greater tendency to be intolerant of ambiguity (Rokeach, 1960, pp. 12, 16).

Though prejudice toward racial, religious, and ethnic minority groups has been the subject of most F scale research, at least one attempt has been made to relate authoritarian personality measures to disability groups. Cowen, Underberg, and Verrillo (1958) investigated the hypothesis that the blind person is viewed in certain common ways with minority group members. The investigators used the California A-M, A-N and F scales, and found that negative attitudes toward blindness are significantly correlated with anti-minority, anti-Negro, and pro-authoritarian attitudes.

Dogmatism Scale

Soon after the publication of the F scale in 1950, Shils, a sociologist, attacked it. He pointed out that it studied only right authoritarianism, and suggested a shift from right to left in accordance with post-war political events (Shils, 1954, pp. 31-41).

Rokeach's approach in his book The Open and Closed Mind (1960) attempts a more theoretical, ahistoric, analysis of the properties held in common by all forms of authoritarianism and intolerance. In doing so, he is searching for a scale which distinguishes ideological systems in general from their unique content. If his attempt is successful, his scale should be more generalizable than the F scale. It should accurately measure intolerance regardless of specific ideological, theological, philosophical, or scientific content.

The authors of the F scales and their successors studied intolerance

in fascists, anti-Semites, Ku Klux Klanners, and conservatives. Rokeach believes that there are other forms of intolerance besides that dealing with race and ethnic groups which should be studied. He has developed the Dogmatism scale which he feels should accurately measure intolerance in religious groups, anti-religious groups, scientists, and art critics, as well as those groups studied by the F scale.

Several new terms have been introduced into the field by Rokeach. His "closed" or "dogmatic" mind is what was previously known as a personality characterized by intolerance and authoritarianism. The person who scores high on the Dogmatism scale has a dogmatic or closed mind; the person who scores low has an open mind.

The main purpose of the Dogmatism scale is to measure individual differences in open and closed belief systems. By virtue of the way the terms "open" and "closed" are defined, this scale purports to measure authoritarianism and intolerance.

Ambiguity

The prospective disabled employee must present an ambiguous situation for a large number of employers. It is popularly believed that the disabled have a different psychological structure than the able-bodied, and that their behavior is largely determined by the disability. Furthermore, the disabled worker's method of performing his work may also present a situation filled with doubt for the employer.

Those employers who score high on the F and Dogmatism scales are theoretically those who are unable to tolerate ambiguity, uncertainty, and doubt. A ready solution to the frustration is to utilize the popular stereotype toward the disabled; avoidance of frustration is accomplished by rejecting the disabled from employment. This theoretical approach prompts

us to hypothesize that those who score high on the Dogmatism and F scales will also be high in the rejection of the disabled for employment.

Unfamiliarity

Ambivalence, as an approach to attitudes toward the disabled, has its parallels in the writings of F. Heider and Hebb.

Heider postulates that the negative effects of uncertainty are due to two factors:

(1) There is uncertainty engendered by new situations because they are cognitively unstructured. Conflict and unstable behavior result from threats inherent in situations with unknown possibilities.

(2) The unfamiliar does not fit the expectations incident to the person's life space matrix. Because of the energy required for adaptation, there is a general resistance to the new and strange (Heider, 1958, p. 194). The first relates to the insecurity and danger incident to conflict, and the second to the energy expenditure necessary for intellectual and aesthetic adjustments.

In like manner, one of Hebb's explanations of the causes of fear is based upon his theory of neurophysiological patterns which he has called "phase sequences" (Hebb, 1958, p. 105). The establishment of these patterns provides templates by which future perceptions are made. The unfamiliar, such as the sight of impaired bodies, arouses fear because the new perception does not fit in with the previously established neurophysiological patterns. Fear of the strange is thereby a consequence of incompatibility between the established phase sequences and the new perception. Fear is not learned through experiences and associations, but instead it results from the conflict between the established pattern and the new perceptual experience. The constant association of physicians and morticians with the dead, the injured,

and the disfigured, results in the establishment of phase sequences in the neural processes of these professional persons which match future perceptual experiences and thereby conflict between phase sequences and perception is avoided. As such, association does not cause fear to be learned, but establishes neurophysiological patterns that operate in avoiding it (Hebb, 1958, p. 164).

Regardless of the theoretical approach used, we should expect to find the impaired worker to be a source of conflict to those unfamiliar with their appearance and performance, with a consequent rejecting attitude in employer's groups toward the worker. Those who are especially sensitive to ambiguous situations due to childhood experiences might be expected to utilize negative attitudes toward the disabled to even a greater extent.

Stereotypy

The conventional views of the criminal and the ex-mental patient are probably more rigid and fixed in our society than the stereotype of the physically disabled. Nevertheless, there is an ambiguity presented by all types of disabilities whether they be physical or psychological. The abilities and inabilities of the physically disabled can be more easily measured and understood by the employer. As such the ambiguities surrounding the hiring of the physically disabled can be more easily reduced to measurable terms.

Stability of rejection with change of job description will be taken as evidence of the fixity of these stereotypes. A t test of significance will be run between the rejection distributions in order to determine whether there is a significant difference between them. The nonsignificance of the difference will constitute an indication of the fixity of the attitudes.

These results bear a close relationship to the study of personality

correlates in employment prejudice. A natural consequence of the theoretical approach is that the mind that cannot tolerate ambiguity will rely on conventional stereotypy to avoid frustration incident to the ambiguous situation. He will reject the disabled in response to the negative stereotypes which he has incorporated in order to prevent further ambiguity and frustration. The more rigid and conventional the stereotypy, the higher the positive correlation should be between the personality structure items and the degree of rejection. In the instance of the physically disabled, the stereotyped picture is more fluid and less rigid. Attitudes toward this group contain a mixture of information, true and false, about the capacities of the disabled. The presence of this factual material decreases the potency of the stereotypy, and as a consequence should result in a lower correlation between the prejudice scores and the personality correlates.

Attributes

During recent years there has been growing interest in the characteristics important to employment (Triandis, 1961). Three of these attributes are job competence, sociability, and sex. Does competence or sociability carry greater weight in employee selection? Is there a prejudice against women in employment?

One of the objectives of this study will be to determine the relative importance of these three factors for disabled workers. The relative importance of these attributes for several disability groups will be investigated. The effect of the disability on employment decisions will gain perspective through a demonstration of its relationship to other characteristics and its role in the total employment decision.

Summary

Psychological theories were discussed in terms of their

application to attitudes toward the disabled worker. It was hypothesized that prejudice of employers toward the disabled worker places the latter at a disadvantage in the pre-interview stage of the hiring process. It was suggested that the origin of employer prejudice may be found in the resistance of all persons to the new and unusual and that its intensity may be accentuated by certain personality characteristics typical of the authoritarian personality.

CHAPTER III

ATTITUDE AND PERFORMANCE STUDIES

Attitude Studies

Hochhauser (1939) reports that prejudice and dread of contraction by other workers is the most frequent objection to employing the tuberculous. This attitude encourages concealment with consequent ill-feeling when the worker has a relapse. Companies who do employ them report very few relapses with little loss of time. In a survey of 97 employers, 87 reported no difference in absenteeism between ex-tuberculous patients and non-diseased workers. Twenty-five companies declared that they would hire these people if other workers made no objection.

From February to May 1946, interviews guided by a questionnaire were held with the persons responsible for setting hiring policy and directing hiring practice in 235 establishments in New Haven, Connecticut and Charlotte, North Carolina (Noland and Bakke, 1949, pp. 173-189). The interviews averaged three hours in length. Establishments were representative as to the size and type of industry. All plants employing more than 500 persons and 20 per cent of the remainder were included in the survey. The establishments visited employed approximately 80 per cent of the industrial labor force in the two cities.

As a part of the study, data were collected concerning attitudes of employers toward certain disability groups. In Table I it is shown that deaf mutes were rejected more for employment as clerical workers than prison parolees or the tuberculous.

Jennings (1951) interviewed 20 employers in Manhattan, New York in representative areas of business and industry. Each firm employed from

TABLE I
IMPORTANCE OF DISABILITIES AS DETERRANTS
TO HIRING CLERICAL WORKERS.

<u>Disability</u>	<u>Rating Scores</u>	
	<u>New Haven</u>	<u>Charlotte</u>
Deaf Mutes	2.66	2.96
Prison Parolee	2.12	2.07
Tuberculous	1.16	1.23

Note.-These rating scores were derived in the following manner:

(a) each item response was assigned a weight, as follows:

Trait no handicap in hiring	0
Trait some handicap	1
Trait a handicap in many or most jobs	2
Trait sufficient to exclude applicant	3

(b) the weights were summed over all responses in each worker classification and the sum was divided by the total number of responses in that classification.

20 to 2000 workers and included two banks, two variety stores, two department stores, three restaurants, one residence club, one apartment hotel, two hospitals, one research laboratory, two insurance companies, two garment manufacturers, one publishing house, and one printing firm.

A question which was believed to be free from any coloring of personal feelings on the subject was used to open each interview with employment officers or personnel directors of the various establishments.

"What would be your reaction to hiring a handicapped person who could fulfill all the requirements for a particular job you might have available?"

The responses were classified as 7 favorable, 12 unfavorable and 1 undecided.

The results of the study led to two conclusions. First, there was a discrepancy between an employer's expressed opinion and his actual practice in regard to hiring the disabled. Second, employers possessed an

aggregate of misconceptions, false beliefs, and false notions relating to the capabilities and abilities of the handicapped.

On the basis of the responses, and additional information acquired during the interview, the following conclusions were evolved concerning beliefs held by a majority of employers:

1. Special provisions must be made by the employer to enable the handicapped person to adapt himself to the work situation.
2. Lack of confidence in physical ability, and a feeling of doubt about general stamina is highly prevalent.
3. There was a tendency toward exaggerated sympathy, with a consequent inability to accept the handicapped as one who could, and should, be treated as a member of the so-called normal staff.
4. There was an identification with the consumer public's presumed reluctance to accept the impaired as capable, self sufficient, and not distasteful in an aesthetic sense.
5. An erroneous concept of the handicapped person's rate of absenteeism was prevalent.

An illustration of the discrepancy between expressed opinion and practice was typified by the response of one employer to the stock question. He asked, "A person who has the qualifications for the job is not really handicapped, is he?" In spite of this expressed understanding of the problem, when the interviewer was leaving the office, the employer requested that neither his name nor the name of his organization be quoted nor the attitudes and ideals he expressed be related in any way to him or to his firm. He explained that they "didn't make a practice of hiring the handicapped".

Oak Ridge National Laboratory interviewed its handicapped workers about previous experience in obtaining positions (Felton, 1953). Disabled

workers have been very successful at Oak Ridge, but their previous experiences with employers demonstrate rejection and a lack of understanding, as suggested by the following instances:

1. A 30 year old diabetic had been refused employment as a chemist's assistant, because the insurance carrier advised the medical department against hiring diabetics.
2. A 38 year old clerk with an above-elbow amputation stated that on several occasions employers laughed at him and told him that he could not do any work.
3. A 29 year old metallurgical technician with a gait impairment sustained from an injury in World War II was refused employment because he might prove to be a liability to the company.

The Federation Employment and Guidance Service (1959) interviewed personnel directors or other personnel representatives of management in seven industries employing 2,000,000 workers in New York City to determine the practices and policies of firms with respect to the hiring of disabled workers. The study was limited to the following private industries:

- miscellaneous light manufacturing
- apparel
- printing and publishing
- wholesale trade
- retail trade
- finance and insurance
- hotel and amusement

In the industries used in this study, jobs of a relatively sedentary or light physical nature predominated. The basic data were replies of the personnel officers or other executives involved in employment and personnel

to a series of questions. The disabilities covered were orthopedic, cardiac, epilepsy, cerebral palsy, and serious vision problems. The survey was concerned with persons who, even if disabled, were able (with proper placement) to maintain jobs in private industry. It did not deal with persons so severely disabled that sheltered employment facilities would be required.

Results indicated that formal written policies and practices, as regard the hiring of handicapped workers, are practically nonexistent. In three industries (apparel, printing and publishing, hotel and amusement), none of the hiring officers reported having written physical requirements for job applicants. In miscellaneous light manufacturing, retail trade, and finance and insurance, fewer than one in 10 so reported. Wholesale trade is the only industry in which as many as 1/4 of the respondents stated that their firms have written policies.

Every firm, whether it had formal written policies or not, had practices based on business and personal attitudes which guided the firm's day-to-day hiring (or firing) decisions. These informal policies were designated as "operational". Such "operating" policies resulted only infrequently from deliberate company decisions (either written or unwritten). They were often a combination of individual views and prevailing "company climate" toward the physically impaired. There was a tendency for firms which have had experiences with impaired persons as employees to report a relatively more favorable "operational policy" toward hiring them.

The physician did not seem to be the decisive element in management's attitude toward hiring the disabled. He seemed to operate largely as a highly specialized technician. Among firms which required pre-employment physical examinations, and those which did not, about the same proportions hired impaired workers.

Although a variety of "cost factors" were advanced as reasons against hiring the disabled, the investigators found no single reason, or constellation of reasons, to be of determining influence against such hiring. Two-thirds of the respondents stated that "it costs more", but the specific reasons diminished on questioning in further detail. For those influenced by compensation costs, no changes which might be made in the Workmen's Compensation Law are likely to lead to any significant increases in the hiring of the disabled.

The pattern of replies for each industry clearly indicated that the orthopedically disabled were the most acceptable of the five types of disabilities included in this survey. This group was closely followed by those with cardiac disabilities. Epilepsy, cerebral palsy, and serious vision problems were much more unacceptable.

Job Performance Studies

On August 8, 1929, a new set of medical requirements was put into effect at the Western Electric Company in Kearny, New Jersey (Dietz, 1932). An experiment was run from August 8, 1929 to August 8, 1930 to determine the economic feasibility of hiring disabled workers. Four hundred and eighty-two males and 170 females were hired. The disabled workers were classified as follows:

Vision	49.7%
Hernia	16.1%
Varicocele	8.8%
Hydrocele	1.8%
Deformity or loss of member	9.4%
Loss of organ as a result of surgery	3.3%
Varicose veins	0.9%

An analysis was made of those whose relations with the company were severed:

7.9% more able-bodied cases resigned than disabled workers.

2.6% fewer able-bodied cases were laid off due to lack of work than disabled.

7.4% more able-bodied cases were relieved because they were not suited to type of work.

The remaining portion of the study was made on 230 employees composed of 115 pairs of able-bodied and disabled workers. These 115 pairs of employees represented comparable data in all respects, even to the extent of man hour exposure on the same job. The following results were obtained:

Sickness: 7% more of able-bodied were absent on account of sickness than the disabled.

Accidents: 5.6% more of the able-bodied cases had accidents than the disabled. None of the disabled had lost-time accidents.

Personal absences: 9.5% more of the disabled were absent for personal reasons.

Production: Supervisors reported that the disabled had equal or superior production in comparison to their able-bodied fellow employees.

The investigator concluded that there is no real reason why the disabled should not be employed by large industrial concerns.

Because of experience with the disabled, the company realized that it had not used the same care in providing an adequate placement and follow-up routine for employees who were impaired by sickness or injury while in the employ of the company. One hundred and fifty-five out of 15,000 had been

disabled while in the service of the company, and were investigated to determine the suitability of their work. It was found that recurrence of a hernia due to improper placement was a source of expense more than adequate to maintain a general follow-up of these handicapped workers for a five year period.

The U.S. Federal Security Agency (U.S. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, 1944) reports favorable opinions toward disabled workers by 100 large American corporations employing the disabled. Table II is a tabulation of the findings.

TABLE II
EMPLOYERS' REPORTS ON PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED WORKERS

	Per Cent of Employers Reporting		
	<u>Lower for Handicapped</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Higher for Handicapped</u>
Productivity	10	66	24
Accident rate	57	41	2
Absenteeism	55	40	5
Turnover	83	16	1

Harvey and Luongo (1945) compared the work records of 2,858 severely impaired workers in the 43 establishments of the War and Navy Departments with records of physically normal workers of the same sex, age, and length of experience, on the same jobs, and under the same supervisors. The study was done during wartime when there was a tight labor market.

Harvey and Luongo summarized the results as follows (Jennings, 1951, pp. 178-179):

The average accident frequency rate for the physically impaired was no higher than the average frequency rate for the able-bodied. The physically impaired experienced proportionately less severe accidents than the able-bodied.

The productivity, both in quantity and in quality, and the efficiency ratings of the physically impaired were found to compare favorably with those of the able-bodied.

A much lower rate of turnover was found among the physically impaired than among the able-bodied, indicating that the impaired are superior from the standpoint of employment stability and that no large number of impaired workers was separated, during a twelve month period, because of skill failures, physical demands failure, or other causes. The impaired, as well as the able-bodied, show a substantial increase in earnings at the time of survey over earnings at the time of initial employment in their jobs.

A study at the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in Burbank, California (Brighthouse, 1946) appraised the work experience and effectiveness of physically disabled employees. The disabled workers included those with auditory defects, heart disease, and circulatory disabilities, hernias, orthopedic, respiratory, and visual impairments. The study was carried out during World War II in a tight labor market, and the investigator points out that the results might not be the same under normal economic conditions.

The "average disabled workers" as a group advanced rapidly through the lower labor grades and received frequent pay increases, but were not likely to be promoted to supervisory positions. They had more absences because of illness, but fewer unexcused absences.

Disabled workers made more claims on their group insurance policies and received larger payments for those claims. They were more likely to be involved in accidents, and such accidents were a little more serious in terms of time lost and compensation paid. However, the accidents of the disabled were less likely to be caused by their own carelessness than were the accidents of the able-bodied.

Work ratings by supervisors were a little lower in quality and quantity for the disabled, and they were less likely to receive special commendations. The rate of turnover of the disabled workers was much lower. The presence of persons with obvious physical disabilities improved the morale of all workers.

in 1948, the Bureau of Labor Statistics carried out a study of approximately 11,000 impaired and 18,000 matched unimpaired workers in manufacturing industries (U.S. Department of Labor, 1948). The study was performed on behalf of the Veterans Administration.

The impaired and unimpaired workers were subject to the same job incentives and exposed to the same job hazards. The data collected were taken from industry's own records. The research team concluded that the physically impaired person was not necessarily a handicapped worker. When given reasonable job placement considerations, i.e., when the individual's abilities were balanced against the job requirements, the physically impaired workers as a group were fully able to compete successfully with unimpaired workers similarly placed.

Differences in the measures of work performance between the two groups were slight for the most part with the balance in favor of the impaired group. In the performance of identical jobs, the disabled workers produced at a slightly better rate and had relatively fewer disabling work injuries than did able-bodied workers. The two groups had identical frequency rates of nondisabling injuries, and average rates of absenteeism showed only nominal differences. Although the voluntary quit rate was higher for the impaired group, it is questionable whether the difference is large enough to be statistically significant. The investigators concluded that the physical impairment did not produce an adverse

effect on either the quantity of work produced or the quality of work performance. Table III is illustrative of the conclusions of this study.

Felton (1953) reported on the performance of 300 impaired persons working at the Atomic Energy Research Laboratory at Oak Ridge. In his report, Felton used the term "significant difference" but it is not clear whether he used it in the popular or a statistical sense. No presentation of statistical methods or computations were given in his article. For these reasons, we are quoting his findings verbatim:

There was no significant difference between the impaired group and 300 unimpaired control employees in job performance. The two groups scored almost identically in ratings by supervisors.

In comparing the two groups by the scoring factors of ability, adaptability, attendance, attitude, dependability, job knowledge, judgment, quantity of work, quality of work, and punctuality, the only significant difference between the two was found in the factor quantity of work. On this point the impaired workers were rated higher.

In the matter of occupational injuries, only 48 per cent of the impaired sustained injuries on the job, while 58.3 per cent of the physically able were injured.

In a speech to the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, Henshel (1954) reported on 222 disabled workers in Bulova's Woodside Plant, which employed a total of 2,300 workers. Of the disabled employees, 15 were deaf mutes; 11 were post-polios; 4 were epileptics; 150 were inactive tubercular cases; 27 were cardiac cases; 12 were amputees and 3 were diabetics.

Henshel proposed the hypothetical situation where there are six qualified applicants for a position, one of whom is disabled. In such a case, the Company typically gave the position to the impaired worker for these reasons:

1. The disabled employees integrate with other employees more

TABLE III
WORK PERFORMANCE OF WORKERS WITH SERIOUS PHYSICAL IMPAIRMENTS,
AND OF MATCHED UNIMPAIRED WORKERS

Group	Absenteeism	Disabling injury		Output relative ^d	Quit rate ^e
	frequency rate ^a	Time-lost rate ^b	Average days of disability ^c		
Average performance					
Total:					
Impaired	3.8	0.10	14.5	101.0	3.6
Unimpaired	3.4	.11	14.9	100.0	2.6
Male:					
Impaired	3.6	.11	14.7	100.3	3.3
Unimpaired	3.2	.12	15.0	100.0	2.3
Female:					
Impaired	6.4	.01	6.0	103.3	6.9
Unimpaired	6.5	.01	6.3	100.0	5.3
Number of workers					
Total:					
Impaired	11,028	10,973	--	895	5,217
Unimpaired	18,258	18,202	--	1,404	8,783
Male:					
Impaired	10,253	10,203	--	682	4,695
Unimpaired	16,926	16,875	--	1,069	7,909
Female:					
Impaired	775	770	--	213	522
Unimpaired	1,332	1,327	--	335	874

^a Number of days lost per 100 scheduled workdays.

^b Number of days lost for disabling injury per 100 scheduled workdays.

^c Number of days of disability per disabling injury.

^d Percentage relationship of production efficiency of impaired to that of matched unimpaired.

^e Number of voluntary quits per 100 employees in the survey group.

quickly and are absorbed almost instantly into the social structures inherent in any large corporation.

2. The disabled employees are more industrious. They work harder and more conscientiously.

3. They are cheerfully willing to fill other positions where vacancies occur or absenteeism has created a production snarl.

4. They seem to be incapable of being late for the job or absent from it. Henshel thought that it is a point of pride not to allow the able-bodied to surpass them in this respect.

5. The disabled workers are careful to observe the rules that have been established in each of Bulova's plants.

Summary

The attitude studies cited have shown that employers do not reveal their actual hiring practices when expressing their opinions publicly i.e., they tend to be more intolerant of the disabled in practice than in expressed opinions. This was reflected by the fact that in the industries interviewed, even though they did not have written policies, they did have informal or operational policies and practices based on business and personal attitudes which guided the firm's hiring decisions. However, once a disabled person has been hired by a firm and has performed adequately, the firm tends to be more accepting of other prospective disabled employees. Prejudice and dread of contraction by other workers is the most frequent objection to employing the tuberculous. In one population studied, it was found that deaf mutes were rejected more for employment as clerical workers than prison parolees and the tuberculous.

Performance studies have shown that, as a group, disabled employees compared favorably with the able-bodied in reference to absences,

accidents, production efficiency, and turnover. As a result of abnormal economic conditions, research conducted during World War II provided some findings contrary to the other studies.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD AND PROCEDURES

Description of Samples

Two groups of potential employers for handicapped persons were sampled. Thirty-two personnel directors, hereafter called F.D.'s, were contacted by mail and requested to complete the questionnaire. Of this number, 25 were returned. The reader will note that an n of 18 was used for the prejudice (I.I.E.P. and I.G.E.P.) and personality correlation studies. For the analysis of variance study, the n was 20. The reason for this difference is that the latter study utilized only the employment section of the questionnaire. The former studies required the elimination of questionnaires which were defective in either the employment or personality sections.

The second sample was secured by distributing the questionnaire to members of school administration classes at the University of Illinois. These classes comprised 140 school administrators and prospective school administrators. The members of this sample will be referred to as S.A.'s. The return from these classes was 102 completed questionnaires. Eighty-seven of these had been completed in full so that they could be used in this study.

Construction of the Instrument

Unless an employer's attitudes are expressed anonymously, it may be expected that he will consciously or unconsciously be influenced by public opinion. If the true feelings and prejudices of an employer are to be measured, it is necessary to protect him from social pressure. We therefore provided complete anonymity for the members of our samples.

The questionnaire (see Appendix for complete text) was composed of the following four major parts:

1. Introduction. The introductory section assured the subject of the anonymity and confidentiality of his answers, and gave the basic instructional material necessary to the completion of the questionnaire. In this portion, some basic definitions of the terms "highly competent", "barely competent", "sociable", and "unsociable" were provided.

2. Employment section. In this section, 56 stimulus items were presented. Each described an applicant for a specified job. The hiring officers in both samples were asked to indicate if they would recommend or oppose the hiring of the stimulus persons for the prescribed job. The officers designated their degree of acceptance or rejection on a seven point scale. The members of the P.D. sample were asked to assume that the persons described in the stimulus items were applying for the position of accountant. Accountant was also used as a criterion job for the S.A. sample. In order to compare attitudes with only the job varied, the S.A. sample made judgments for an identical set of 56 stimulus items for the position of third grade teacher.

3. Personal data. In the P.D. questionnaire, a section inquired into the personal backgrounds of the subjects. Because the S.A. questionnaire was lengthened by additional items, it was necessary to exclude this section from the S.A. research.

4. Personality section. In the personality section, the F and Dogmatism scales were administered to the S.A. sample. Only the F scale was administered to the P.D. sample. Other personality items were intermixed in the questionnaire but they were exploratory in nature and are not included in the present report.

Introductory Page

An abstract containing the essence of the introductory page follows. The reader will find the questionnaires set forth in their complete forms in the Appendix.

Please assume that each of the persons described hereafter is an applicant for a position...with your organization. Indicate your feeling about hiring the person by circling a number on the 7 point scale provided after each description. A circle placed around 1 means "I would strongly recommend the employment of an applicant of this description;" around 2, "Would recommend ...;" around 3, "Would recommend with reservation...;" around 4, "Neither recommend nor oppose...;" around 5, "Would oppose with reservation...;" around 6, "Would oppose...;" around 7, "Would strongly oppose..."

Assume that you will have to make the recommendation without the benefit of an interview. However, you have a pretty complete file on the applicant which includes his or her educational achievements, aptitudes, personality and interest scores, recommendations from the previous employer, and in addition you have information from a member of your organization who has met the applicant and knows quite a bit about him.

When the words "highly competent" appear, assume that this implies that all the objective evidence (education, aptitudes, recommendations, etc.) is consistent and highly favorable as far as the job is concerned. When the words "barely competent" appear, assume that all the objective evidence is consistent but just barely favorable.

When the word "sociable" appears, assume that the evidence from personality tests, previous employer's recommendations, and the information from the member of your organization who knows the applicant, is consistent: the applicant is warm, outgoing, and friendly. On the other hand, when the word "unsociable" appears, the applicant is cold, reserved, and somewhat unfriendly.

Employment Section

This section used a modification of the questionnaire utilized in the Triandis (1961) study of factors affecting employee selection in Greece and the U.S. That study developed from an earlier attempt by Triandis to study the determinants of social distance (Triandis and Triandis, 1960).

The Bogardus social distance scale (1928) and its successor have concentrated on the use of one stimulus characteristic from which the subject

must make his decision about accepting or rejecting the person in designated social relationships. Triandis and Triandis (1960) have suggested that inaccuracies can result from the use of just one stimulus characteristic. An Irishman might be rejected from a certain relationship, not on the basis of his nationality alone but for reasons of his assumed Catholic religious faith. A Negro might be rejected because of his presumed lower social class instead of race. This type of association of ideas makes interpretation of the results of the Bogardus studies rather difficult. Triandis and Triandis (1960) clarified earlier research findings by describing stimulus persons in terms of a number of characteristics presented simultaneously. Thus the nationality, religious affiliation, age, and socio-economic status of the stimulus person was specified each time the social distance was to be measured.

A similar danger exists in the description of disabled persons. Because of the stereotypes of society, a subject might assume that a disabled person is incompetent or unsociable. In order to confront this problem directly, the employment section of the questionnaire has been constructed with more than one descriptive term. Descriptive terms for two levels of competence and sociability were chosen, and because of the wide discussion of sex as a determinant of hiring practices, each stimulus person's sex was given.

Eight stimulus persons were presented by the use of male or female and the choice of one of the two levels of sociability and competence. The possible combinations were as follows:

- Male, highly competent, unsociable
- Female, highly competent, unsociable
- Male, barely competent, sociable
- Female, barely competent, sociable
- Male, highly competent, sociable
- Female, highly competent, sociable
- Male, barely competent, unsociable
- Female, barely competent, unsociable

These eight combinations were presented with each of six disability groups and one group described as being without physical defect. Thereby 56 stimulus items were produced, each of which described a slightly different individual. These 56 items were randomized internally and with respect to their order in the questionnaire. The final form of the employment section is found in the Appendix. For the sake of clarity, the stimulus items prior to their randomization are presented here.

Deaf, male, highly competent, unsociable
Deaf, female, highly competent, unsociable

Deaf, male, barely competent, sociable
Deaf, female, barely competent, sociable

Deaf, male, highly competent, sociable
Deaf, female, highly competent, sociable

Deaf, male, barely competent, unsociable
Deaf, female, barely competent, unsociable

Confined to wheelchair, male, highly competent, unsociable
Confined to wheelchair, female, highly competent, unsociable

Confined to wheelchair, male, barely competent, sociable
Confined to wheelchair, female, barely competent, sociable

Confined to wheelchair, male, highly competent, sociable
Confined to wheelchair, female, highly competent, sociable

Confined to wheelchair, male, barely competent, unsociable
Confined to wheelchair, female, barely competent, unsociable

Subject to epileptic convulsions, male, highly competent, unsociable
Subject to epileptic convulsions, female, highly competent, unsociable

Subject to epileptic convulsions, male, barely competent, sociable
Subject to epileptic convulsions, female, barely competent, sociable

Subject to epileptic convulsions, male, highly competent, sociable
Subject to epileptic convulsions, female, highly competent, sociable

Subject to epileptic convulsions, male, barely competent, unsociable
Subject to epileptic convulsions, female, barely competent, unsociable

Discharged from mental institution, male, highly competent, unsociable
Discharged from mental institution, female, highly competent,
unsociable

Discharged from mental institution, male, barely competent, sociable
Discharged from mental institution, female, barely competent, sociable

Discharged from mental institution, male, highly competent, sociable
Discharged from mental institution, female, highly competent,
sociable

Discharged from mental institution, male, barely competent, unsociable

Discharged from mental institution, female, barely competent, unsociable

Discharged from prison, male, highly competent, unsociable

Discharged from prison, female, highly competent, unsociable

Discharged from prison, male, barely competent, sociable

Discharged from prison, female, barely competent, sociable

Discharged from prison, male, highly competent, sociable

Discharged from prison, female, highly competent, sociable

Discharged from prison, male, barely competent, unsociable

Discharged from prison, female, barely competent, unsociable

Discharged from T.B. sanitarium, male, highly competent, unsociable

Discharged from T.B. sanitarium, female, highly competent, unsociable

Discharged from T.B. sanitarium, male, barely competent, sociable

Discharged from T.B. sanitarium, female, barely competent, sociable

Discharged from T.B. sanitarium, male, highly competent, sociable

Discharged from T.B. sanitarium, female, highly competent, sociable

Discharged from T.B. sanitarium, male, barely competent, unsociable

Discharged from T.B. sanitarium, female, barely competent, unsociable

With no physical defect, male, highly competent, unsociable

With no physical defect, female, highly competent, unsociable

With no physical defect, male, barely competent, sociable

With no physical defect, female, barely competent, sociable

With no physical defect, male, highly competent, sociable

With no physical defect, female, highly competent, sociable

With no physical defect, male, barely competent, unsociable

With no physical defect, female, barely competent, unsociable

Choice of Criterion Job and Disability Groups

The establishment of a I.G.E.P. requires that the occupation should not have job requirements preventing adequate performance by the named disability groups used in the present study. If the matching of disabilities and a criterion job is carefully performed, any rejection expressed by the employers in the sample will be due to irrelevant factors.

The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has provided recent figures on the numbers and types

of disabled persons successfully employed (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1956a, b, c, d; 1957a, b, c, d; 1958a, b, c, d, e, f, g; 1959). In the State-Federal program of vocational rehabilitation, and hence in the statistics about that program, a client is not considered rehabilitated until he is suitably employed and (after follow-up) with reasonable expectation he will continue in the job.

Three criteria were used in the choice of an occupation and disabilities:

1. The job requirements of the occupation must be widely understood by employers.
2. The occupation must be common to a large number of work establishments.
3. The occupation must have work requirements that can be performed by a variety of disabled persons.

Accountancy was chosen as the occupation most nearly fitting our requirements for a criterion job. It clearly could be held by individuals with the disabilities represented in this study. Table IV summarizes the data secured from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The figures are for those rehabilitated and employed in accounting positions in the specified years. Figures for other years were not available.

A second occupation was used in addition with the S.A. sample in order to determine the stability of rejection in positions with different job requirements. Third grade teacher was chosen as the second position because it also could be held by individuals included in this study. Table V presents pertinent data from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

TABLE IV
NUMBER OF PERSONS REHABILITATED AS ACCOUNTANTS AND AUDITORS

<u>Disability</u>	No. of Persons Rehabilitated and Employed		
	<u>1955</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1957</u>
Epilepsy	8	9	7
Psychosis	4	6	4
Psychoneurosis	1	3	4
Deaf	7	3	1
Hard of hearing	11	16	6
Paraplegia	17	--	18
Pulmonary Tuberculosis	53	62	--

Note.-The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation classification of accountant and auditor corresponds roughly to accountant in the present research. The categories of psychoneurosis and psychotic approximate person discharged from mental institution.

TABLE V
NUMBER OF PERSONS REHABILITATED AS ELEMENTARY TEACHERS

<u>Disability</u>	No. of Persons Rehabilitated and Employed		
	<u>1955</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1957</u>
Epilepsy	4	--	--
Psychosis	2	4	4
Psychoneurosis	9	9	10
Deaf	--	--	3
Hard of hearing	20	11	19
Paraplegia	2	--	--
Pulmonary Tuberculosis	36	43	--

Note.-The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation classification of elementary teacher corresponds roughly to third grade teacher in the present research. The categories of psychoneurosis and psychotic approximate person discharged from mental institution. Teachers employed in schools for the handicapped were not included.

Raw Distributions

The employment section of the questionnaire had eight stimulus items for each of the disabilities and eight items for the nondisabled. For example, there were eight stimulus items with the primary characteristic deaf and eight items with the primary characteristic of nondisabled. The scores for eight items for any primary characteristic can be summed in order to obtain a total rejection score for each hiring officer. In this paper raw distribution will mean the sum of these eight scores computed for each member of a sample.

Computational Procedure: I.I.E.P. and I.G.E.P.

The I.I.E.P. for each hiring officer in the sample is obtained by subtracting the total of the eight stimulus items for a given disability from the total of eight items for the nondisabled. For example, in the questionnaire for one of the personnel directors in the sample, items 4, 7, 14, 24, 32, 33, 40, and 44, all contain the descriptive term with no physical defect. Likewise items 5, 10, 15, 27, 35, 45, 51, and 52, all contain the descriptive term confined to wheelchair. These items were totaled as follows:

<u>No physical defect</u>		<u>Wheelchair</u>	
Item	Score	Item	Score
4	6	5	5
7	1	10	7
14	6	15	3
24	2	27	4
32	4	35	2
33	3	45	7
40	5	51	2
44	1	52	4
Total	28	Total	37

In order to obtain the I.I.E.P. for this questionnaire, the total for the nondisabled items (28) is subtracted from the total for the wheelchair

items (37), yielding a remainder of 9. The remainder (9) is the I.I.E.P. for this particular personnel director.

The I.G.E.P. for a given disability group is the mean of its I.I.E.P. distribution. It may be computed for any disability with a specified job. For example, the I.G.E.P. for a person confined to a wheelchair is obtained by computing the I.I.E.P.'s for each of the 18 members of the sample and computing the arithmetic mean of that distribution. The I.G.E.P. for the person confined to a wheelchair is the mean of the distribution of these I.I.E.P. scores.

Ranking of I.G.E.P.'s

The I.G.E.P.'s will be presented in order of magnitude. Such an analysis will provide a picture of the relative degrees of employer prejudice expressed toward each disability group.

Significance of Employment Prejudice

The significance of the difference between the rejection of the nondisabled and a disability group was determined by the t test. For this purpose the raw distributions, as described, of the nondisabled and each of the six disability groups were used.

Significant Difference in Rejection with Change in Job

In order to determine the stability of attitudes toward a disability group with change in job description, t tests were run between the I.I.E.P. distributions for different jobs for the same disability for the S... sample.

F Scale

In addition to the above mentioned section, the questionnaires contained a series of personality items, including 10 items of the F scale

(Adorno et al., 1950). Of these 10 items, five were positive items and five were negative. The positive statements were scored toward the authoritarian end of the continuum when they were answered in the positive. The five negative items were scored authoritarian when answered in the negative. The standard directions were used. Subjects could strongly disagree (scored -3), moderately disagree (-2), disagree (-1), agree (+1), moderately agree (+2), strongly agree (+3). The F items were randomly scattered through the other personality questions.

The choice of five positive and five negative items was made in order to compensate for the subject's response set. Studies of response set have shown that some individuals are inclined to answer questions either in the positive or negative regardless of their content. Therefore each positive F item was matched with a negative F statement. The negative F items were obtained from Christie (1958), and the positive items from the original California F scale (Adorno, et al., 1950).

Relationship of Employer Prejudice to Personality Dimensions

The results of the dogmatism study will be related to the degree of employer prejudice toward each disability by correlating the dogmatism scores obtained from the sample members with their I.I.E.F. scores.

Analysis of Variance

The data from the employment section of the P.D. sample were submitted to an analysis of variance treatment in a 2 X 2 X 2 X 2 design with 20 subjects each cell. F ratios were run for disability, competence, sociability, sex, and interactions. Percentages of the total sum of squares (TSS) were computed for each disability as well as for competence, sociability, sex, and interactions. Thereby, measures of the relative importance of each of these factors in the employment decision were obtained. Triandis

(1961) has shown that these percentages are proportional to the beta weights in a regression equation in which a person's employability is described as a function of his characteristics.

Summary

Three criteria were used in the selection of jobs for this study:

1. Job requirements must be widely understood by employers.
2. The occupation must be common to a large number of work establishments.
3. The occupation must have work requirements that can be performed by a variety of disabled persons.

Accountant and third grade school teacher were chosen as the occupations most nearly fitting these criteria. Evidence that these occupations are being successfully performed by disabled persons was investigated in order to assure that disabled persons are rejected on the basis of prejudicial attitudes rather than on their inability to perform the specified jobs.

The procedure for computing the I.I.E.P. and I.G.E.P. was discussed. The I.I.E.P. for any hiring officer is obtained by subtracting the total of the eight stimulus items for a given disability from the total of the eight items for the nondisabled. The I.G.E.P. for a given disability group is the arithmetic mean of its I.I.E.P. distribution.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Results of I.G.E.P. Study

In the following table, the I.G.E.P.'s for each disability are presented in tabular form according to magnitude. The similarity in order of ranking for the P.D. and the S.A. samples can be easily seen. The mean rankings, as shown in Table VI, are identical except for the reversing of positions for the epileptic and the parolee.

TABLE VI
I.G.E.P.'S FOR ACCOUNTANT

P.D. Sample			S.A. Sample		
<u>Disability</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Disability</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Variance</u>
Epileptic	12.8	55.3	Prison	11.2	66.2
Prison	9.7	66.7	Epileptic	9.1	54.6
Mental Institution	9.0	66.7	Mental Institution	8.5	55.4
Deaf	8.8	61.8	Deaf	5.8	27.4
Wheelchair	7.4	61.2	Wheelchair	3.7	21.5
Tuberculosis	2.8	15.8	Tuberculosis	3.3	17.0
Nondisabled	0.0		Nondisabled	0.0	

Effect of Change of Job on I.G.E.P. Mean Rankings

The members of the S.A. sample made employment decisions for two positions in their schools--accountant and third grade teacher. The change of the job variable was made in order to determine the stability of attitudes between jobs. With the exception of the deaf and epileptic applicants, the mean ranking results are the same for the two jobs. The I.G.E.P.'s for the

epileptic and deaf as teacher applicants were markedly elevated as shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII
I.G.E.P.'S FOR ACCOUNTANT AND THIRD GRADE TEACHER: S.A. SAMPLE

Accountant			Third Grade Teacher		
<u>Disability</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Disability</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Variance</u>
Prison	11.2	55.2	Epileptic	14.3	41.3
Epileptic	9.1	54.6	Deaf	13.0	44.9
Mental Institution	8.5	55.4	Prison	11.2	45.5
Deaf	5.8	27.4	Mental Institution	11.1	45.9
Wheelchair	3.7	21.5	Wheelchair	7.9	36.4
Tuberculosis	3.3	17.0	Tuberculosis	4.9	22.9
Nondisabled	0.0		Nondisabled	0.0	

t Test Results for Raw Distributions: Accountant

A t was computed for the difference between the mean of each disability's raw distribution and the mean of the distribution of raw scores for the nondisabled. Since we predicted the direction of the difference, a one-tailed test was used.

An examination of Tables VIII and IX leaves little doubt of the significance of the results. The t's are statistically significant in all but one instance--the P.D.'s decisions for the tubercular accountant.

t Test Results for Raw Distributions: Third Grade Teacher

Using the S.A. raw distributions for third grade teachers, we determined the significance of t's for the differences between the means of each disability and the nondisabled. The results are shown in Table X.

Results of t Test Comparisons of Indices of Prejudice for Accountant and Teacher

The I.I.E.P. indices for third grade teacher and accountant were

TABLE VIII
SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DISABLED AND NONDISABLED
I.I.E.P.'S FOR ACCOUNTANT: P.D. SAMPLE
(n=18)

Disability	\bar{x}_1^a	\bar{x}_2^b	$\sum x_1^2$	$\sum x_2^2$	$s_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}$	t	Probability Level
Deaf	43.44	34.67	872	682	2.25	3.89	.0005
Wheelchair	42.11	34.67	810	682	2.21	3.37	.005
Epilepsy	47.50	34.67	737	682	2.15	5.96	.0005
Mental Institution	43.67	34.67	824	682	2.22	4.06	.0005
Prison	44.39	34.67	916	682	2.28	4.25	.0005
Tuberculosis	37.50	34.67	719	682	2.14	1.32	--

^a \bar{x}_1 =Disability Score

^b \bar{x}_2 ="No Disability" Score

TABLE IX
SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DISABLED AND NONDISABLED
I.I.E.P.'S FOR ACCOUNTANT: S.A. SAMPLE
(n=87)

Disability	\bar{x}_1^a	\bar{x}_2^b	$\sum x_1^2$	$\sum x_2^2$	$s_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}$	t	Probability Level
Deaf	34.95	29.20	5,418	3,404	1.09	5.30	.0005
Wheelchair	32.91	29.20	4,381	3,404	1.02	3.64	.0005
Epilepsy	38.33	29.20	5,985	3,404	1.12	8.16	.0005
Mental Institution	37.71	29.20	5,856	3,404	1.11	7.66	.0005
Prison	40.36	29.20	7,738	3,404	1.22	9.15	.0005
Tuberculosis	32.52	29.20	4,030	3,404	.99	3.33	.0005

^a \bar{x}_1 =Disability Score

^b \bar{x}_2 ="No Disability" Score

compared for each disability. The results are an indication of the stability of the rejecting attitudes toward each disability when the criterion job is changed.

For 86 degrees of freedom, in a two-tailed test, a t must exceed the value of 2.64 to be significant at the .01 level. If the t is not significant, stability is indicated. The results (see Table XI) show that attitudes of rejection toward the prison parolee, the ex-mental patient, and the former tubercular patient, are relatively stable with change of job.

TABLE X
SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DISABLED AND NONDISABLED
I.I.E.P.'S FOR THIRD GRADE SCHOOL TEACHER: S.A. SAMPLE
(n=87)

Disability	\bar{x}_1^a	\bar{x}_2^b	$\sum x_1^2$	$\sum x_2^2$	$s_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}$	t	Probability Level
Deaf	45.46	32.49	4,660	3,172	1.02	12.67	.0005
Wheelchair	40.38	32.49	4,936	3,172	1.04	7.57	.0005
Epilepsy	46.78	32.49	4,661	3,172	1.02	13.96	.0005
Mental Institution	43.55	32.49	5,330	3,172	1.07	10.37	.0005
Prison	43.70	32.49	5,694	3,172	1.09	10.29	.0005
Tuberculosis	37.44	32.49	4,855	3,172	1.04	4.77	.0005

^a \bar{x}_1 =Disability Score

^b \bar{x}_2 ="No Disability" Score

Results of Correlations between Dogmatism and I.I.E.P. Distributions

A one-tailed test of significance was used. The correlation above which our Pearson r 's become significant at the .05 level for 85 degrees of freedom is .18. As indicated in Tables XII and XIII, at this level of significance, two out of six of the I.I.E.P. distributions for accountants and three out of six for third grade teachers are significantly related to the subjects' Dogmatism scores.

TABLE XI
SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN I.I.E.P. SCORES
FOR TEACHER AND ACCOUNTANT: S.A. SAMPLE
(n=87)

Disability	\bar{X}_1^a	\bar{X}_2^b	$\sum x_1^2$	$\sum x_2^2$	$s_{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2}$	t	Probability Level
Deaf	12.97	5.76	3,863	2,356	.91	7.91	.001
Wheelchair	7.89	3.71	3,133	1,852	.82	5.11	.001
Epilepsy	14.29	9.14	3,551	4,692	1.05	4.91	.001
Mental Institution	11.06	8.52	3,951	4,840	1.08	2.35	.05
Prison	11.21	11.16	3,916	5,694	1.13	.04	--
Tuberculosis	4.94	3.32	1,965	1,463	.68	2.39	.05

^aTeacher
^bAccountant

TABLE XII
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN I.I.E.P. SCORES AND DOGMATISM: ACCOUNTANT
S.A. SAMPLE
(n=87)

<u>Disability</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>Probability Level</u>
Epilepsy	.03	--
Prison	.18	.05
Mental Institution	.16	--
Deaf	.27	.01
Wheelchair	.07	--
Tuberculosis	.13	--

Results of Correlations between F and I.I.E.P. Distributions

The 10 item F scale was administered to both the P.D. and the S.A. samples. The results (Tables XIV, XV, and XVI) show promise for the F scale in the prediction of attitudes toward hiring the handicapped. In spite of the brevity of our scale, we obtained significant results for a large number of the correlation coefficients. We used a one-tailed test at the .05 level of

significance. To be significant for the P.D. sample it is necessary for the r to exceed .40 ($n=18$, $df=16$). The S.A. coefficients are significant if they exceed .18 ($n=87$, $df=85$).

TABLE XIII
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN I.I.E.P. SCORES AND DOGMATISM: THIRD GRADE TEACHER
S.A. SAMPLE
($n=87$)

<u>Disability</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>Probability Level</u>
Epilepsy	.14	--
Prison	.16	--
Mental Institution	.18	.05
Deaf	.23	.05
Wheelchair	.14	--
Tuberculosis	.18	.05

TABLE XIV
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN I.I.E.P. SCORES AND F SCALE: ACCOUNTANT
P.D. SAMPLE
($n=18$)

<u>Disability</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>Probability Level</u>
Epilepsy	.49	.05
Prison	.55	.01
Mental Institution	.72	.005
Deaf	.23	--
Wheelchair	.49	.05
Tuberculosis	.53	.05

TABLE XV
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN I.I.E.P. SCORES AND F SCALE: ACCOUNTANT
S.A. SAMPLE
(n=87)

<u>Disability</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>Probability Level</u>
Epilepsy	.13	--
Prison	.26	.01
Mental Institution	.12	--
Deaf	.37	.0005
Wheelchair	.11	--
Tuberculosis	.10	--

TABLE XVI
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN I.I.E.P. SCORES AND F SCALE: THIRD GRADE TEACHER
S.A. SAMPLE
(n=87)

<u>Disability</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>Probability Level</u>
Epilepsy	.02	--
Prison	.23	.05
Mental Institution	.23	.05
Deaf	.17	--
Wheelchair	.09	--
Tuberculosis	.12	--

Results of Analysis of Variance: P.D. Sample

The percentages of total SS attributable to each disability can be ordered according to magnitude. The resulting array (Table XVII) has the same order as was yielded by the I.G.E.P. method. As previously explained, the n was 20 for the analysis of variance and 18 for the I.G.E.P. method.

The F ratio for each of the six disabilities was significant at the .001 level for all disabilities except tuberculosis. In the case of

tuberculosis, the F test yielded a probability level of .01. This indicates that the subjects were influenced by the disability factor in making their judgments.

Likewise, the competence factor was significant at the .001 level. For each disability, the percentage of SS accounted for by the competence factor and the disability factor were roughly complementary. These two factors total approximately 50 per cent of the total SS in each instance. An examination of the following results will demonstrate this interesting relationship:

Tuberculosis	.9	Wheelchair	5.8
Competence	<u>50.5</u>	Competence	<u>43.5</u>
Total	51.4	Total	49.3
Deaf	7.4	Mental Institution	7.6
Competence	<u>44.7</u>	Competence	<u>43.2</u>
Total	52.1	Total	50.8
Prison	8.2	Epileptic	17.3
Competence	<u>43.4</u>	Competence	<u>35.6</u>
Total	51.6	Total	52.9

As the percentage of the total SS due to disability increased, the percentage attributable to competence decreased.

TABLE XVII
RANKINGS OF DISABILITIES BY TWO METHODS

Disability	Percentage of SS (n=20)	I.G.E.P. (n=18)
Epilepsy	17.3	12.8
Prison	8.2	9.7
Mental Institution	7.6	9.0
Deaf	7.4	8.8
Wheelchair	5.8	7.4
Tuberculosis	.9	2.8

The issue of whether the applicant for a position is male or female does not constitute a significant factor in the physically disabled groups of tuberculosis, wheelchair, deaf, epileptic, and those discharged from prison. Sex is important in the personnel directors' minds (at varying levels of significance) in the case of persons discharged from a mental institution. The results are noted in Tables XVIII thru XXIII.

TABLE XVIII
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FACTORS DETERMINING EMPLOYMENT
OF EX-TUBERCULARS

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	Percentage of TSS	F	Probability
Competence	756	1	756	50.5	405.4	<.001
Disability	14	1	14	.9	7.5	<.01
Sex	1	1	1	.1	.54	--
Sociability	111	1	111	7.4	59.5	<.001
Interactions	47	11	4.27	3.1	2.29	<.01
Within cell	<u>567</u>	<u>304</u>	1.865	37.9		
Total	1496	319				

TABLE XIX
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FACTORS DETERMINING EMPLOYMENT
OF PERSONS CONFINED TO WHEELCHAIRS

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	Percentage of TSS	F	Probability
Competence	600	1	600	43.5	357.1	<.001
Disability	80	1	80	5.8	47.6	<.001
Sex	2	1	2	0.1	1.19	--
Sociability	104	1	104	7.5	61.9	<.001
Interactions	83	11	7.55	6.0	4.49	<.001
Within cell	<u>511</u>	<u>304</u>	1.68	37.0		
Total	1380	319				

TABLE XX
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FACTORS DETERMINING EMPLOYMENT
OF THE DEAF

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	Percentage of TSS	F	Probability
Competence	630	1	630	44.7	371.2	<.001
Disability	104	1	104	7.4	61.3	<.001
Sex	3	1	3	.2	1.77	--
Sociability	85	1	85	6.0	50.09	<.001
Interactions	72	11	6.545	5.1	3.86	<.001
Within cell	<u>516</u>	<u>304</u>	1.697	36.6		
Total	1410	319				

TABLE XXI
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FACTORS DETERMINING EMPLOYMENT
OF EX-MENTAL PATIENTS

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	Percentage of TSS	F	Probability
Competence	611	1	611	43.2	363.7	<.001
Disability	108	1	108	7.6	64.3	<.001
Sex	7	1	7	.5	4.17	<.05
Sociability	101	1	101	7.1	60.1	<.001
Interactions	75	11	6.82	5.3	4.06	<.001
Within cell	<u>512</u>	<u>304</u>	1.68	36.2		
Total	1414	319				

TABLE XXII
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FACTORS DETERMINING EMPLOYMENT
OF EPILEPTICS

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	Percentage of TSS	F	Probability
Competence	493	1	493	35.6	316.0	<.001
Disability	240	1	240	17.3	153.8	<.001
Sex	2	1	2	.1	1.28	--
Sociability	67	1	67	4.8	42.9	<.001
Interactions	109	11	9.91	7.9	6.35	<.001
Within cell	<u>473</u>	<u>304</u>	1.56	34.2		
Total	1384	319				

TABLE XXIII
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FACTORS DETERMINING EMPLOYMENT
OF PRISON PAROLEES

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	Percentage of TSS	F	Probability
Competence	602	1	602	43.4	354.1	<.001
Disability	114	1	114	8.2	67.1	<.001
Sex	4	1	4	.3	2.35	<.01
Sociability	75	1	75	5.4	44.1	<.001
Interactions	75	11	6.82	5.4	4.01	<.001
Within cell	<u>518</u>	<u>304</u>	1.70	37.3		
Total	1388	319				

Summary

There were highly significant t 's obtained for the differences between rejection scores for the disabled and nondisabled stimulus persons. The only exception was for the tuberculous with the P.D. sample. The correlations between employment prejudice scores and authoritarian personality structure were all positive. There was a tendency for more of these correlations to be significant for the P.D. sample than for the S.A. sample. The rejection of the parolee, the tuberculous, and the ex-mental patient was relatively stable with change in job description. The analysis of variance showed that the P.D. sample gave more weight to the "competence" factor than to the disabilities named and less weight to "sociability" and "sex" than to the disabilities.

CHAPTER VI

THE MEASUREMENT OF EMPLOYMENT PREJUDICE

This study has developed a new method of measuring prejudice toward the disabled. Because employment is a key to general acceptance in our middle class society, prejudice in hiring practices was chosen as the major area for testing the instrument.

Credit is due to Bogardus (1928) who developed the original social distance scale for use with racial and religious groups. Research was broadened by his successors to include social distance in employment. The most significant advance since the development of the original Bogardus scale was the Triandis and Triandis (1960) study which used stimuli containing multiple characteristics. This method facilitates the presentation of a more complete description of an individual to the subjects, and the results may be submitted to a variety of statistical tests, including analysis of variance.

One of the major objections to the previous research in social distance and prejudice has been the failure to present an accurate and complete picture of the individual whom the subject must judge. As a consequence, the subject is prone to associate other attributes with the primary descriptive characteristic under consideration. The results from these studies are confounded by these associations of the subject. Triandis and Triandis (1960) pointed out that Irish as a nationality characteristic may be confounded in the minds of the subjects with catholicism; Negro, as a racial characteristic, may be associated with lower class standing; and the respondent's rejection of the person may be prompted more by the associated characteristic than by the primary characteristic itself.

Wright has observed a similar phenomenon in the attitudes toward the disabled and uses the term "spread" to describe it (Wright, 1960, p. 118 et seq). A stereotype is aroused by the sight or thought of a disabled person, and the stereotype carries with it a multitude of secondary characteristics which are not necessarily a part of the disability.

The use of the Triandis multifactor stimulus method is an attempt to control this confounding so that the importance of each characteristic is evaluated in relation to other characteristics.

The statistical methods used in the present research allow the inclusion of a large number of descriptive characteristics in each stimulus item. The practical limitation of this type of research is the ability of the subject to retain the list of characteristics long enough to make his decision. In the development of the method, characteristics were limited to four in order to avoid any problems of this nature. These were the disability, competence, sociability, and sex. Two levels or degrees of each characteristic were utilized.

Index of Group Employer Prejudice (I.G.E.P.)

In completing the questionnaire the subject is asked to assume that a person with specified characteristics is applying for a particular job. The occupations chosen for research were that of accountant and third grade teacher; the disabilities were deafness, person confined to wheelchair, person discharged from tuberculosis sanitarium, person discharged from mental institution, and person discharged from prison. Chapter III presented evidence from the U.S. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation that persons with most of the disabilities used in the present study are successful in the occupations used with our samples.

Questionnaires describing persons in each of the disability groups were administered to two samples in Illinois, a group of personnel directors in industry (P.D.'s), and a sample of school administrators (S.A.'s). The results were essentially the same for both groups.

The I.G.E.P. is the arithmetic mean of the difference between the distributions of ratings for a disabled group and the nondisabled. Each distribution is obtained by summing the raw scores for all stimulus items containing the primary characteristic in question. Table VI presented the rankings based on I.G.E.P. magnitudes.

Using the responses of the S.A. sample, similar indices of rejection were computed for disabled applicants for the position of third grade teacher. All of these indices were higher than the corresponding scores for accountant. The least change was for the parolee and the ex-tubercular patient. The largest elevations occurred for the deaf and epileptic. The ex-tubercular patient and the person confined to a wheelchair retained the low prejudice positions in every instance for the accounting and teacher positions. Nevertheless, they were rejected when compared to the able-bodied.

Statistical Significance of Employer Prejudice toward the Handicapped

The differences in attitudes expressed toward hiring the nondisabled and the impaired were analyzed by t tests. The distributions of summed raw scores for the disabled and able-bodied groups were used for the tests.

A one-tailed test at the .01 level was used, and with one exception, all tests were significant at the prescribed level. The P.D. sample did not reject the tuberculous accountant at the prescribed level of significance. The S.A. sample did yield a significant rejection score for the ex-tubercular patient.

The tuberculous received the lowest I.G.E.P. and t ratios of any of the disabilities. Of the six disabilities named, the tuberculous was most acceptable to personnel directors. The next most acceptable was the person confined to a wheelchair, and in succession the deaf, the ex-mental patient, and, least acceptable to both samples, the epileptic and the parolee.

A series of t tests were run for the distributions of summed raw scores for the disabled and nondisabled considered as applicants for the position of third grade teacher. All of these, including the tuberculous, were significant at the .01 level. Again, however, the tuberculous had the lowest I.G.E.P. and t ratios. In terms of the Illinois samples it can be concluded that there is still an important element of prejudice toward the ex-tubercular patient, but that it is less than that toward many other physical disabilities.

Stability of Attitudes with Change in Criterion Job

With the objective of determining the significance of the difference in rejecting attitudes with change of criterion job, one-tailed t tests at the .01 level were run between the I.I.E.P. distributions for the accountant and the teacher positions for the S.A. sample. The I.I.E.P. distribution is the difference between the sums of the disability and nondisability scores for the subjects.

Three of the physical disabilities (deaf, wheelchair, and epilepsy) yielded significant differences for rejection scores with change in job description. The rejection scores of the ex-tubercular patient and those having nonphysical disabilities (parolee and ex-mental patient) were not significantly different and the t for the parolee showed an extraordinary degree of stability.



The lack of significance with change in job description indicates a high degree of stability in attitudes of rejection toward the ex-tubercular patient, the ex-mental patient, and the parolee. On the otherhand, the significance of the difference in rejection with change of job indicates an instability in attitudes as a function of job description. It is suggested that hiring officers attempt to take into account the job requirements and the nature of the physical disability in making their decisions. The composition of the rejecting attitudes toward the disabled worker may be a mixture of misinformation and stereotypic notions. It is further suggested that the stability of the nonphysical and tubercular disabilities indicates the influence of a stereotyped picture of the ex-tubercular patient, the ex-mental patient, and the parolee. Stability most likely suggests a conventional stereotypy in the population studied toward the prison parolee, the ex-tubercular patient, and the ex-mental patient and particularly toward the first. Further mention will be made of these questions in the discussion of the personality correlates of a prejudiced attitude toward the disabled.

Summary

The advantages and disadvantages of the I.G.E.P. over other measurements of attitudes was discussed. The advantages of the method include the prevention of spread or the unjustified association of characteristics. The method is limited by the number of characteristics which can be remembered by the person making judgments.

Though our choice of a significance level was .01 for determining the existence of employer prejudice, the obtained probabilities showed that the results in most cases were clearly significant at or beyond this level. The probability that the results could have been obtained by chance was .001 or .0005 in almost every instance.

CHAPTER VII

PERSONALITY STRUCTURE AND PREJUDICE

This investigation of the relationship between the personalities of employers and their employment preferences posits the propensity of an authoritarian or dogmatic personality to withdraw from ambiguous situations. This intolerance of ambiguity is presumed to result from childhood experiences where the child is prevented from expressing ambivalent feelings toward his parents. It becomes necessary for the individual to avoid uncertain relationships during adulthood, which is done through premature closure and close adherence to social norms.

Fascist and Dogmatism Scales

The F scale was administered to the members of each sample and the results were correlated with their rejection scores toward each disability. For exploratory purposes, the Dogmatism scale was administered to the S.A. sample. The results showed that those high in authoritarianism, as measured by these scales, were also high in employment prejudice. Thirty correlations were run and all were positive. About 50 per cent of the correlations were significant at the .05 level.

Correlations tended to be higher and more often significant for the parolee and the ex-mental patient. This fact, taken with the stability of prejudice scores for the two groups with change of job, provides evidence that the attitudes toward these persons are more stereotyped.

Theoretical Explanations

The psychoanalytic approach posits a greater tendency of the authoritarian personality to rely on fixed notions of society to resolve the frustrations resulting from ambiguous situations. The disabled job

applicant is believed to present an ambiguous problem to the hiring officer.

Psychological research has demonstrated that there is a resistance in most persons to the new and different. The source of this resistance may be due to the energy expenditure necessary for adaptation, according to F. Heider (1958, p. 194). The adjustments necessary to adapt to an impaired worker may elicit this resistance in all employers unfamiliar with the capacities and abilities of the disabled.

Attitude Change

Evidence has been presented indicating that there was a combination of fixed stereotypy and misinformation in the rejection attitudes of the group studied toward the disabled worker. Stability of rejection with change in job description and the size of the authoritarian correlations together give credence to this conclusion.

If this conclusion is correct, then a different type of program for attitude change would be appropriate depending on the nature of the rejecting attitude. Where the prejudice is due to misinformation, then programs of public information and contact with disabled workers seem appropriate. Where fixed social notions combine with authoritarian personality traits, we must look to improved parent-child relations and psychotherapy for help.

Summary

Psychological research has demonstrated that there is a resistance in most persons to the new and different. In addition to these findings, psychoanalysts have presented evidence that persons with authoritarian personalities avoid ambiguous situations. Since the prospect of hiring a disabled worker presents an uncertain situation for the employer, it was hypothesized that employment prejudice would be correlated with authoritarian

tendencies. The hypothesis was supported by the I.G.E.P. studies. The correlation studies indicated that the authoritarian personality has a greater tendency toward rejecting the disabled than the non-authoritarian.

CHAPTER VIII

WORKER CHARACTERISTICS AND REJECTION FOR EMPLOYMENT

The analysis of variance study was carried out with an n of 20. The sample was composed of Illinois personnel directors (P.D.'s), who responded to our anonymous questionnaire.

This study was performed in order to determine the relative importance of each of the four characteristics used (disability, competence, sociability, and sex). It also made further inquiry into the question of relative degrees of prejudice toward disability groups. The results agreed with the I.G.E.P. study reported earlier.

Interactions

The numerous interactions among the four factors were grouped for each disability. A separate analysis for each type of interaction was not deemed fruitful for a sample of this size. The combined totals for the interactions were significant at the .01 level. The percentages of SS accounted for by interactions ranged from 3.1 for tuberculars to 7.9 for epileptics.

Sex

For the physically disabled groups, no significant preference for either man or woman was indicated by Illinois personnel directors. It might be inferred that, in the population studied, a physically disabled woman would apparently have no more difficulty in securing an accounting job than a man of equal competence and sociability.

A statistically significant difference did appear in each of the nonphysical disabilities (parolee, .01 and ex-mental patient, .05). That is,

a female discharged from a mental institution or prison would enjoy less favor with the employers than would a man of equal competence and sociability.

Competence

The F ratio for competence was significant at the .001 level for each disability. A sizable percentage of the SS was attributable to the competence factor for each disability group. The range of percentages was from 35.6 for epilepsy to 50.5 for the tuberculous. In contrast, the ranges for the other characteristics were as follows:

Disability: .9 (tuberculosis) to 17.3 (epileptic)

Sociability: 4.8 (epileptic) to 7.5 (wheelchair)

Sex: .1 (epileptic, tuberculosis, and wheelchair) to
.5 (mental institution)

These results indicate that competence was the major consideration in the minds of the P.D.'s in employment decisions. This fact, however, does not lessen the significance of the other characteristics.

The sociability and disability factors had significant effects on employers' decisions. However, it is suggested that a slight increase in competence might change the decision from negative to positive for some disabled applicants.

Sociability

The F ratios were significant at the .001 level for sociability. This factor as a whole did not play as large a part in the decisions of the personnel directors as we had anticipated. It may be that the high percentage represented by competence and the relatively low status accorded sociability is a function of job description. Accountancy may be a job

which holds a heavy competence weighting and a light sociability weighting. The results might be otherwise for other jobs, e.g. "receptionist".

Disability

Each disability named has a significant effect on the hiring officer's decision. The percentage of SS accounted for by the disability factor ranged from .9 for the tubercular to 17.3 for the epileptic. Each of the F ratios for the disability groups was significant at the .001 level except for the tuberculous which was significant at the .01 level. These findings correspond closely to the results of our I.G.E.P. study.

The percentages attributable to each disability represented an interesting relationship with the competence and sociability factors. As the disability percentages increased from .9 for the ex-tubercular to 17.3 for the epileptic, the percentages attributable to competence decreased in a complementary fashion. It is as though the competence factor is "robbed" by the disability factor. The two together equal roughly 50 per cent of the variance. Such a close complementary relationship cannot be shown between the disability and sociability percentages. Though there was some relationship between the two, the "theft" by the disability factor was not so predictable.

Implications

The method used to obtain the percentages of SS attributable to each disability is such that the percentage of SS attributable to a named disability must necessitate a decrease in the percentage of SS in one of the other named characteristics. Under these circumstances, the variance is primarily taken from the more important factor (competence) and secondarily from the less important factor (sociability).

Earlier it was stated that the uncertainties incident to the

hiring of a disabled person may constitute a situation which the employer might seek to avoid through rejecting the applicant for a position. In the present study the F ratios for each disability and for competence were statistically significant at high levels of probability. However, the fact remains that, on the basis of percentages of SS. competence constituted the major influence in the employer judgments for the accounting position. It is therefore concluded that objective evaluations of some worker characteristics appear to contribute more to an employer's judgments of employability than the tendency to avoid uncertain situations.

In this study, all variables (characteristics) were held constant for each disability group as a whole. This method allowed us to compare the influence of disability variables on the employers' decisions. It is possible to design studies, using similar methods, in order to evaluate the influence of the competence or sociability variable with the disability variable held constant. Under such conditions, it is probable that we would find that an increase in the level of competence would offset the prejudicial effects of the disability factor. Such an investigation would experimentally examine a current dispute in the field of rehabilitation.

Cruickshank (1958, pp. 124-125) has contended that the disabled can be, and are, overtrained. In his view, the development of an "unreasonably" high level of competence may be injurious to the psychological and social adjustment of disabled persons. This point of view is one which emphasizes the "tragedy" for a disabled person who trains for a high level job and discovers that he cannot obtain employment except at a position lower than his level of training.

Other writers have contended that "overtraining" is not a psychological and social danger for the disabled, but it is wise and

sensible for economic, as well as psychological and social reasons (Fatterson, 1962, p. 278). The disabled may benefit by "overtraining" in order to compensate for the general prejudice of many employers toward impaired workers. Industry's objection to the lack of versatility of the disabled worker can be mitigated by the added flexibility resulting from "overtraining".

The present study demonstrates the importance of the competence factor in the employment of the disabled. From the disabled worker's point of view, increased competence might be an effective means of overcoming prejudicial attitudes due to his disability.

The high percentage of SS attributed to the competence and disability factors (a combined 50 per cent) suggests the importance of studies which will hold the disability variable constant and analyze the importance of various degrees of competence.

Summary

The study's determination of the relative importance of the disabling condition, sociability, competence and sex was discussed. Competence was rated most important in the judgments of employers, followed by disability, sociability, and sex. It was concluded that the high weight given to competence in comparison to the other characteristics might be due in part to job description. The importance of the competence factor in the case of the job described (accountant) would indicate that prejudice toward the disabled worker might be compensated for by overtraining.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

Index of Group Employer Prejudice

A method of isolating and quantifying employer prejudice toward the disabled was developed. The instrument was administered to samples of Illinois personnel directors and of school administrators.

Six disabilities were investigated; epileptic, person discharged from prison, ex-mental patient, deaf, person confined to wheelchair, and person discharged from tuberculosis sanitarium. Prejudice scores (I.G.E.P.'s) were computed for two occupations. Results showed low rejection scores for ex-tubercular patients and high levels of rejection toward the prison parolee and the epileptic.

The questionnaire described each applicant for the positions in terms of degrees of competence, sociability, sex, and disability. Of the eight persons described for each disability group, no two persons had exactly the same set of attributes. However, all disability groups were comparable.

A series of t tests was run in order to test the hypothesis that on the basis of pre-interview knowledge of the disabling condition there is significant employer prejudice toward hiring the disabled. The rejection of the disabled as opposed to the able-bodied with equal characteristics was at high levels of probability (.001 and .0005) for all of the disabilities. This indication of employer prejudice was present for both accounting and teaching positions.

Rankings with Change of Job Description

The job description was varied for the school administrator sample.

The two criterion jobs used were accountant and third grade teacher. Statistics from the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation were presented to demonstrate that disabled persons are successfully employed in each of these occupations. Results of the present study demonstrated that the rejection of the parolee and the ex-mental patient was relatively stable across jobs. The deaf and the epileptic were rejected to a much greater degree as third grade teachers than they were for the accounting position. Tests of significance between rejection scores for the two criterion jobs were computed. There was a significant difference between the judgments for each of the disability groups with change of job except the parolee, the ex-tubercular patient, and the ex-mental patient.

Attributes

Analysis of variance was used as a method of determining the relative importance of employee characteristics in the employment decision. The four characteristics examined were disability, competence, sociability, and sex. Competence was the most important attribute for all the disability groups. Of next importance in order were disability and sociability. Sex was not a significant issue in the acceptance or rejection of the disabled except in the case of the ex-mental patient and the parolee.

Because of the importance of competence in the decisions, it was suggested that a disabled worker could best overcome prejudice resulting from his disabling condition by increasing his training and efficiency. Social skills are probably important for some positions, but much less important for the position of accountant.



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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

The following introductory page was used with both P.D. and S.A. samples.

This questionnaire is anonymous. We definitely want to keep it anonymous because we want you to feel as free as possible when answering it.

The questionnaire is an experiment. The essence of an experiment is that it is an artificial, controlled replication of what goes on in real life. Please answer the questionnaire truthfully and realistically, just as you would decide the issues while doing your job.

We are not interested in how you think you would act ideally. We want to know how you would act in fact, now, in Illinois, in 1961. In other words, please do not give us an idealized picture; we want a realistic one.

In the questionnaire that follows, you will be asked to rate persons with various combinations of characteristics. Please be as truthful as you can. Rate each person on every scale. Do not go back to check your previous ratings. Work at a comfortable but swift rate.

Please assume that each of the persons described hereafter is an applicant for a position (which we will specify) with your organization. Indicate your feeling about hiring the person by circling a number on the 7 point scale provided after each description. A circle placed around 1 means "I would strongly recommend the employment of an applicant of this description;" around 2, "Would recommend...;" around 3, "Would recommend with reservation...;" around 4, "Neither recommend nor oppose...;" around 5, "Would oppose with reservation...;" around 6, "Would oppose...;" around 7, "Would strongly oppose..."

Assume that you will have to make the recommendation without the benefit of an interview. However, you have a pretty complete file on the applicant which includes his or her educational achievements, aptitudes, personality and interest scores, recommendations from the previous employer, and in addition you have information from a member of your organization who has met the applicant and knows quite a bit about him.

When the words "highly competent" appear, assume that this implies that all the objective evidence (education, aptitudes, recommendations, etc.) is consistent and highly favorable as far as the job is concerned. When the words "barely competent" appear, assume that all the objective evidence is consistent but just barely favorable.

When the word "sociable" appears, assume that the evidence from personality tests, previous employer's recommendations, and the information from the member of your organization who knows the applicant, is consistent: the applicant is warm, outgoing, and friendly. On the other hand, when the word "unsociable" appears, the applicant is cold, reserved, and somewhat unfriendly.

PART 2: EMPLOYMENT SECTION

This part was used with both P.D. and S.A. samples. Accountant was a criterion job for both samples. Third grade teacher was also used as a job description for the S.A. sample.

1. Female, sociable, highly competent, deaf.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose
2. Subject to epileptic convulsions, male, unsociable, barely competent.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose
3. Discharged from T.B. sanitarium, female, sociable, barely competent.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose
4. With no physical defect, male, unsociable, barely competent.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose
5. Highly competent, confined to wheelchair, male, unsociable.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose
6. Female, sociable, barely competent, subject to epileptic convulsions.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose
7. Highly competent, with no physical defect, female, sociable.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose
8. Highly competent, discharged from T.B. sanitarium, male, unsociable.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose
9. Sociable, barely competent, subject to epileptic convulsions, male.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose
10. Barely competent, confined to wheelchair, male, unsociable.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose
11. Deaf, male, sociable, barely competent.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose
12. Highly competent, discharged from mental institution, female, unsociable.
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

13. Barely competent, discharged from prison, female, sociable.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

14. Barely competent, with no physical defect, female, unsociable.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

15. Confined to wheelchair, female, sociable, barely competent.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

16. Barely competent, deaf, female, sociable.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

17. Male, sociable, barely competent, discharged from T.B. sanitarium.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

18. Barely competent, discharged from T.B. sanitarium, male, unsociable.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

19. Highly competent, subject to epileptic convulsions, female, sociable.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

20. Deaf, female, unsociable, highly competent.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

21. Male, sociable, highly competent, subject to epileptic convulsions.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

22. Male, unsociable, barely competent, discharged from mental institution.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

23. Sociable, highly competent, discharged from T.B. sanitarium, female.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

24. Unsociable, highly competent, with no physical defect, female.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

25. Discharged from prison, female, unsociable, highly competent.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

26. Barely competent, discharged from mental institution, male, sociable.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose



27. Male, sociable, barely competent, confined to wheelchair.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

28. Unsociable, highly competent, deaf, male.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

29. Discharged from mental institution, female, unsociable, barely competent.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

30. Highly competent, discharged from prison, male, sociable.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

31. Discharged from T.B. sanitarium, male, sociable, highly competent.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

32. Female, sociable, barely competent, with no physical defect.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

33. With no physical defect, male, unsociable, highly competent.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

34. Unsociable, highly competent, discharged from prison, male.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

35. Sociable, highly competent, confined to wheelchair, female.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

36. Unsociable, highly competent, subject to epileptic convulsions, female.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

37. Discharged from mental institution, female, sociable, highly competent.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

38. Female, unsociable, barely competent, discharged from prison.

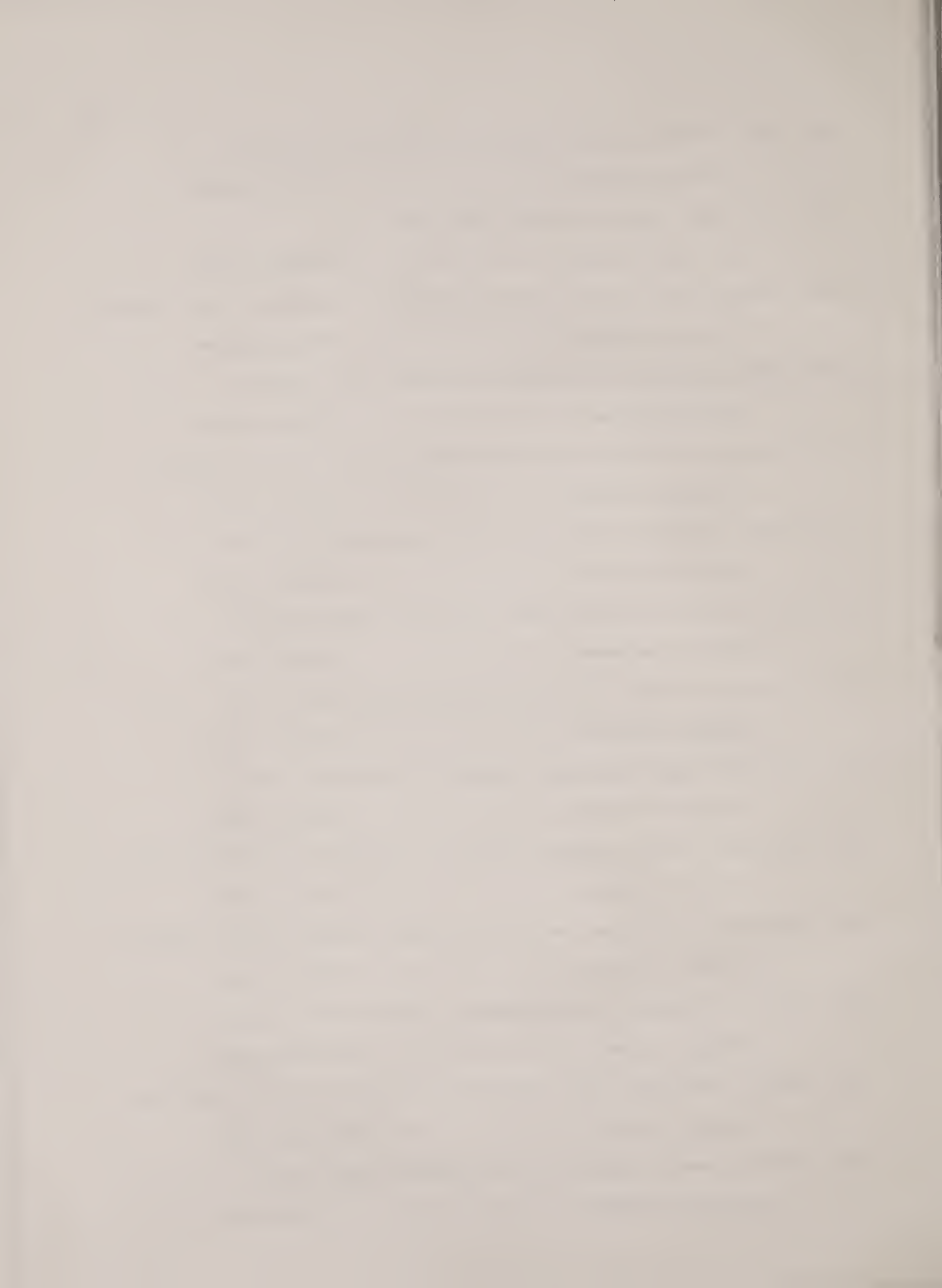
Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

39. Female, unsociable, highly competent, discharged from T.B. sanitarium.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

40. Sociable, barely competent, with no physical defect, male.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose



41. Female, sociable, highly competent, discharged from prison.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

42. Sociable, barely competent, discharged from mental institution, female.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

43. Unsociable, barely competent, discharged from T.B. sanitarium, female.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

44. Male, sociable, highly competent, with no physical defect.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

45. Highly competent, deaf, male, sociable.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

46. Unsociable, barely competent, confined to wheelchair, female.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

47. Male, unsociable, highly competent, discharged from mental institution.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

48. Subject to epileptic convulsions, male, unsociable, highly competent.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

49. Female, unsociable, barely competent, deaf.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

50. Unsociable, barely competent, discharged from prison, male.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

51. Confined to wheelchair, male, sociable, highly competent.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

52. Female, unsociable, highly competent, confined to wheelchair.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

53. Barely competent, subject to epileptic convulsions, female, unsociable.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

54. Unsociable, barely competent, deaf, male.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose



55. Discharged from prison, male, sociable, barely competent.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

56. Sociable, highly competent, discharged from mental institution, male.

Strongly recommend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly oppose

PART 3: PERSONAL DATA

This portion of the questionnaire was administered only to the P.D. sample.

Is your firm engaged in

manufacturing _____
 utilities _____
 insurance _____
 other _____

Is your company

private _____
 public or semipublic _____

Your company employs a total of about _____ people.

Your position can best be described as being in the

top management group _____
 middle management group _____
 lower management group _____
 other _____

Your age

20-30 _____
 30-40 _____
 40-50 _____
 50-60 _____
 60- _____

Sex Male _____
 Female _____

Religion Protestant _____
 Catholic _____
 Jewish _____
 Other _____
 Non believer _____

Your ethnic background is

Old American _____
 Northern European _____
 Southern European _____
 Eastern European _____
 Western European _____

(you may check
 more than one)

Would you say that your present position in your company is

very secure _____
 fairly secure _____
 barely secure _____
 rather insecure _____

Your father's occupation is (or has been)
 (Describe in detail)

Your father's education included graduation from

Less than public school _____
Public school _____
High school _____
College _____
Graduate school _____

Your mother's occupation (if any) is (or has been)
(Describe in detail)

Your mother's education included graduation from

Less than public school _____
Public school _____
High school _____
College _____
Graduate school _____

You lived through most of your childhood in a

City with more than 100,000 inhabitants _____
Town _____
Village with less than 1,000 inhabitants _____
Farm _____

Your education includes graduation from

Public school _____
High school _____
College _____
Graduate school _____

Does your company (or organization) have a written policy concerning the employment of the physically disabled, persons discharged from mental institutions, or persons discharged from prison? What is it?

PART 4: PERSONALITY SECTION

Of the following items, the first 35 were administered to both samples. The Dogmatism scale (items 36-75) were completed by the S.A. sample.

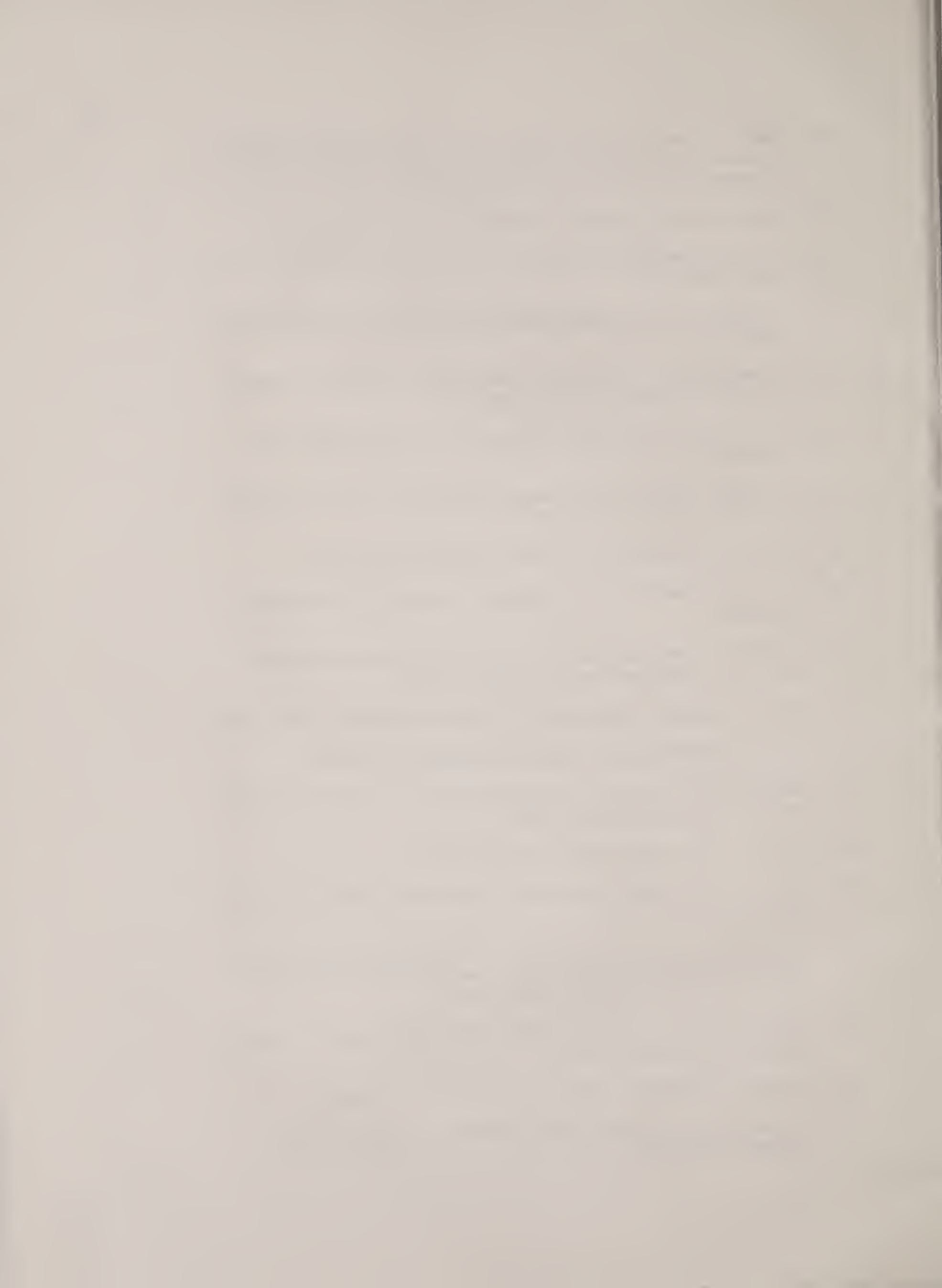
On this and the following pages you will find 75 statements and questions. They are the kind of statements and questions with which some people strongly agree, and others strongly disagree. We would like to see which of these you are willing to endorse, and which you would reject. Please place a

- +3 if you strongly endorse the statement;
- +2 if you endorse the statement;
- +1 if you slightly endorse the statement;
- 1 if you slightly oppose the statement;
- 2 if you oppose the statement;
- 3 if you strongly oppose the statement

on the dotted line.

1. Are you afraid of snakes?
2. Would you rather be a florist than a miner?
3. What the youth needs is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
4. Do you prefer going to a dance rather than to a prizefight?
5. Do odors of perspiration disgust you?
6. People tend to place too much emphasis on respect for authority.
7. Do you feel deeply sorry for a bird with a broken wing?
8. Does it embarrass you a great deal to say or do the wrong thing in a social group?
9. An insult to our honor should always be punished.
10. Have you ever lost sleep over your worries?
11. Do you often have a feeling of unworthiness?
12. It may well be that children who talk back to their parents actually respect them more in the long run.
13. Are you often in a state of excitement?
14. Do you find it difficult to go to sleep at night because experiences of the day "keep running through your head"?

15. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
16. Does it upset you much to lose in a competitive game?
17. Do you often think or dream of what you will be doing five years from now?
18. I seldom have any enthusiasm for respect and obedience for authority.
19. Do you become so absorbed in watching an athletic contest that you completely forget yourself?
20. Do you often feel that a lecturer is talking about you personally?
21. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
22. When you are criticized does it disturb you badly?
23. Are you bothered by the idea that someone is reading your thoughts?
24. I would not myself consider patriotism and loyalty to be the first requirements of a good citizen.
25. Do you sometimes feel sorry for all the people in the world?
26. Do you sometimes feel that most people are stupid?
27. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
28. Do you enjoy taking part in a good fight?
29. Do you believe that most people shirk their duties whenever they can do so?
30. It would be preferable if there were less enthusiasm about strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
31. Do you believe that only people with money can get a square deal in the courts of law?
32. Do many men deserve higher pay than their bosses?
33. Do you think that most people who help others secretly dislike doing so?



34. Were you ever ignored or "given a raw deal" through spite?
35. Does it seem to you that other people "have all the luck"?
36. The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common.
37. The highest form of government is a democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are most intelligent.
38. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.
39. It is only natural that a person would have a much better acquaintance with ideas he believes in than with ideas he opposes.
40. Man on his own is a helpless and miserable creature.
41. Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place.
42. Most people just don't give a damn for others.
43. I would like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.
44. ~~It is only~~ natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future.
45. There is so much to be done and so little time to do it in.
46. Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop.
47. In a discussion I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.
48. In a heated discussion I generally become so absorbed in what I am going to say that I forget to listen to what the others are saying.
49. It is better to be a dead hero than to be a live coward.
50. While I don't like to admit this even to myself, my secret ambition is to become a great man, like Einstein, or Beethoven, or Shakespeare.
51. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.
52. If given the chance I would do something of great benefit to the world.

53. In the history of mankind there have probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.
54. There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stand for.
55. A man who does not believe in some great cause has not really lived.
56. It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.
57. Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one which is correct.
58. A person who gets enthusiastic about too many causes is likely to be a pretty wishy-washy sort of person.
59. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.
60. When it comes to differences of opinion in religion we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from the way we do.
61. In times like these, a person must be pretty selfish if he considers primarily his own happiness.
62. The worst crime a person could commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing he does.
63. In times like these it is often necessary to be more on guard against ideas put out by people or groups in one's own camp than by those in the opposing camp.
64. A group which tolerates too much differences of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.
65. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.
66. My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he is wrong.
67. A person who thinks primarily of his own happiness is beneath contempt.
68. Most of the ideas which get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on.
69. In this complicated world of ours, the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.

70. It is often desirable to reserve judgment about what's going on until one has had a chance to hear the opinion of those one respects.
71. In the long run, the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.
72. The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.
73. If a man is to accomplish his mission in life it is sometimes necessary to gamble "all or nothing at all".
74. Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important social and moral problems don't really understand what's going on.
75. Most people just don't know what's good for them.

VITA

Thomas E. Rickard was born in Dinuba, California on November 29, 1925.

Degrees and Educational Experience: He began his college work at the University of California at Berkeley where he received an A.A. degree in 1946, an A.B. in 1948, and an LL.B. in 1951. In 1959, under the advis-
orship of Dr. John F. McGowan, he received his M.ED. in Counseling and Rehabilitation from the University of Missouri. His PH.D. program in Counseling and Psychology was supervised by Dr. C. H. Patterson at the University of Illinois.

Honors: Andrew Dalziel and Wilbur Brayton scholarships were awarded him at the University of California. He attended the University of Missouri on an Office of Vocational Rehabilitation Traineeship, and received a fellowship at the University of Illinois. The following academic honors were awarded at the University of California: A.B. degree with Highest Honors in Economics, Phi Beta Kappa (Junior year), Alpha Mu Gamma, Tower and Flame, and Honor Students. He was elected to Phi Delta Kappa at the University of Missouri, and to Kappa Delta Pi at the University of Illinois.

Professional Membership: He has held memberships in the following professional organizations and associations: The American Personnel and Guidance Association, The American Bar Association, Wyoming Bar Association, Illinois Rehabilitation Association, and National Rehabilitation Association.

Teaching and Professional Experience: He has had two years of experience in teaching and counseling, with assistantship rank at the University of Illinois. One semester each of professional training was received at the Counseling and Testing Service of the University of Missouri and the Kansas City Rehabilitation Institute. In addition, Thomas Rickard has had eight years of business and legal experience.

Research: In addition to this dissertation research, he has done a study in the prediction of college success of severely disabled students (1960).





R

Rickard, Thomas Edwin

Indices of employer prejudice....

[illegible]

